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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
ALCOHOL DRUG ABUSE
AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

ORIGINAL
COMPLETED

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

RESOURCE MANUAL

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

**NATIONAL DRUG ABUSE CENTER
FOR TRAINING
AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT**

National Institute on Drug Abuse
Division of Resource Development
Manpower and Training Branch
5600 Fishers Lane
Rockville, Maryland 20857

**NATIONAL INSTITUTE
ON DRUG ABUSE**

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE**

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

*ALCOHOL, DRUG ABUSE,
AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION*

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This training program has undergone several developmental stages since 1974, when it was first offered by the New York Division of Substance Abuse Services Bureau of Training and Resource Development in New York City. Since then, the content has been revised to reflect the needs of substance abuse staff in acquiring more knowledge and skills in treating their Puerto Rican clients. The current training package reflects a synthesis of historical information about the formation of Puerto Rico, its unique relationship with the United States, and the social, cultural, and political forces which affect treatment of Puerto Rican substance abusers.

Puerto Rican History and Culture: A Short Overview represents the combined efforts and resources of many concerned individuals and institutions in their attempts to further the cause of inter-ethnic communications between the Puerto Rican minority and the society at large, specifically between the Puerto Rican substance abuser and the mental health settings.

Many individuals and institutions have contributed and made this program what it is today, particularly all the trainees who, through their participation and constant feedback, have made this course an ever-changing, living document that reflects the everyday concerns, conflicts, struggles and triumphs experienced by the Puerto Rican substance abuser and his/her counselor. Without this support or participation, the program becomes merely a compilation of articles, statistics, and historical information; trainees are the most important element . . . the human element.

Those individuals from the New York Division of Substance Abuse Services who have contributed to this program include Walter M. Higley, II. Director, Anne Hubbard, Ph.D., Deputy Director, Robert Detor, Director of Training, Gail Norman, William Cole, Lee Harrison, Instructional Developers, and Felice Schulman-Marcus, Evaluator.

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In addition, special thanks for the contributions and endorsement of the National Association of Puerto Rican Drug Abuse Programs (NAPRDAP), particularly Frank Espada and Omar Bordatto for their revisions and additions to the course. Also thanks to Oscar Camacho for his assistance in the development of the "Counselor's Guide to Do's and Don'ts," and to Joe Conzo for the preparation of the tape "Puerto Rican Music." In addition, a note of appreciation for the staff of the National Drug Abuse Center for Training and Resource Development, especially Beth (B.J.) Gillispie for her assistance on the final preparation and reproduction of the course.

The Puerto Rican History and Culture Course is one of the first products of its kind that has been developed within the National Manpower and Training System. One of the reasons it was selected, aside from its relevance to imporving treatment provided to Puerto Rican clients, was to offer it as one possible model for use in training other persons involved in the treatment of minorities. It is hoped that this course will inspire others to develop similar courses for other minority groups, and that this investment in similar courses felt by the Manpower Training Branch/National Institute on Drug Abuse and the National Manpower and Training System will be continued.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

OVERALL GOALS

To help participants to . . .

understand the importance of geographical, historical, cultural and racial factors in the development of the Puerto Rican nation and their impact on Puerto Ricans today, and how this relates to the experiences of Puerto Rican substance abusers.

develop sensitivity to problems and issues facing Puerto Rican clients and their implications for counselor intervention and possible treatment planning.

AUDIENCE

Counselors, interviewers, administrators or others working with Puerto Rican clients in a treatment center, an early intervention setting, or substance abuse related program in the community or school system.

NUMBER OF TRAINEES

Recommended optimum training audience size is 20-25 persons per trainer.

CONTENT

Stereotypes about Puerto Ricans discusses some specific stereotypes and their origin, and their impact on our expectations of and interactions with Puerto Rican clients.

Historical Background highlights aspects of the geographical features and the Indian, Spanish and African influences in the development of the Puerto Rican nation and the impact of these socio-cultural factors on Puerto Ricans today.

Puerto Rican Migration to the U.S. discusses factors contributing to the migration, Puerto Rico's unique socio-political relationship to the U.S., and Puerto Rican culture in the U.S.

Problems of the Puerto Rican Substance Abuser synthesizes previous learning about the cultural heritage of Puerto Ricans in an exploration of the issues, problems and factors which contribute to substance abuse among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and the affect on their treatment.

Sample Case Studies of several Puerto Rican addicts provide a framework for analyzing the socio-cultural problems involved in assessment, counselling and treatment intervention.

THE PUERTO RICAN HISTORY & CULTURE

RESOURCE MANUAL

This Resource Manual is to be used by trainers of the Puerto Rican History & Culture training program in conjunction with the Trainer's Manual for the program. The Resource Manual provides an overview of all the content material that you need to study initially in order to deliver this program.

It includes papers, articles, glossary, bibliography and other reference materials for your use.

The resource papers were written by trainers and course developers involved in the Puerto Rican Community and the training of drug abuse workers. They reflect the views of many authors and should not be construed as representing the opinions of the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, the State government or any agency of the United States Government. Rather, an attempt has been made to present a broad sampling of ideas and perspectives in order to stimulate thoughtful analysis, discussion, and further study.

As you study these materials, you are encouraged to consult the source texts for more detailed, thorough treatment of the content.

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MODULE II

STEREOTYPES ABOUT PUERTO RICANS

DEFINITIONS

Myths are beliefs which are given uncritical acceptance by members of a group, especially in support of existing or traditional practices and institutions.

Stereotypes are standardized mental pictures held in common by members of a group which represent an oversimplification of opinions.

However, some stereotypes and myths have a kernel of truth to them. It is in the aspect of uncritical acceptance and oversimplification that they lose their validity.

SOURCE

When we look at nationalities, religious groups, or races other than our own with reference to our standards, then we are beginning to stereotype their behavior in accordance with how they reflect our own values or rules of social behavior. Groups having characteristics that are valued in our culture are favorably stereotyped (the "sportsmanship" of the English, the "industriousness" of the Japanese). Groups that do not conform to our values are unfavorably stereotyped. (Far Easterners are "dirty" because they don't bathe often, or Chinese are "sly" and "introverted," etc.)

Another fallacy of ethnic stereotypes of traits is that such oversimplifications are often seen as ethnically inborn, genetic, unalterable psychological characteristics.

INTERNALIZATION OF STEREOTYPES

An important point to make about myths and stereotypes is that they usually have a kernel of truth to them. It is in the aspect of overgeneralization, uncritical acceptance, oversimplified opinions and cultural bias that they lose their validity. Each of us has internalized certain myths and stereotypes that form some of our basic assumptions about the world about us. Usually these are based on or determined by our culture and language. Not only are our initial attitudes and behaviors toward others usually colored or based on these internalizations, but our feelings about ourselves in relation to the world and other people are also influenced by these assumptions.

Because myths and stereotypes shape our behavior, it is important that we study and analyze those myths and stereotypes which society attributes to Puerto Ricans.

The following are some examples of beliefs about Puerto Ricans that have been identified by trainees in this exercise. Some of these are discussed in the following section.

STEREOTYPES OF PUERTO RICANS

Sterotypes of Puerto Ricans Identified by Trainees

Puerto Ricans . . .

Work

1. Are lazy.
2. Are on welfare.
3. Cannot do mechanical work.
4. Are all unskilled.
5. Do not hold professional employment.
6. Men do not work; only their women do.
7. Puerto Ricans are all poor.

Education/Intelligence

1. Are stupid.
2. Do not want to learn to speak English.
3. Do not have any respect for education.
4. Parents do not care about their children's education.
5. Do not want to go to school.

Family

1. Have large families.
2. Are illegitimate.
3. Seven people to one room.
4. Are incestuous.
5. Women are passive.
6. Are close knit.

Sex

1. Are incestuous.
2. Like to have sex.
3. Their women are loose.
4. Have illegitimate children.
5. Women are prostitutes.
6. Men are infantile.

Social

1. Do not have any political origin.
2. Cannot behave in public.
3. Drink beer in street.
4. Like to hang out in streets.
5. Have parties all the time.
6. Are in cliques.
7. Are dirty.

DISCUSSION

Discussion of Selected Stereotypes on Puerto Ricans

The following are some stereotypes written by trainees from previous sessions on Puerto Rican History & Culture; following each stereotype are some kernels of truth or culturally misunderstood foundations for these stereotypes. As the trainer, make sure that the trainees understand that while some of these stereotypes might have had a kernel of truth when originally conceived, they are not necessarily reflective of the total population of Puerto Ricans, both here and in the Island. Also point out that the Puerto Ricans as a minority are assimilating a great deal of American culture and ideas. Therefore, some of the kernels of truth do not apply any more.

WORK-RELATED

1. Puerto Ricans are lazy.

This seems to be a general stereotypic view that North Americans have of Latin Americans in general (e.g., the "heat" of the tropics has created a congenitally slothful and lethargic disposition regarding physical activities, primarily work or hard labor; e.g., the slow speaking Mexican, sleeping under a sombrero, next to a cactus). Americans' view of Puerto Ricans as Latins, coupled with the lack of jobs for Puerto Ricans, internalized the belief that all Puerto Ricans are lazy.

2. Puerto Ricans cannot do mechanical work or are unskilled.

This stereotype might have developed as the Puerto Rican minority began working in the lower sectors of the economy. Explain that Puerto Ricans coming to this country had few skills and very little formal education in English. Also, point out that the lack of English on the part of these migrants might have given the impression that they preferred or could only do unskilled or manual labor. The kernel of truth is there but cannot be applied across the board since the skilled, educated, professional Puerto Ricans had very little reason to leave the Island in the first place.

3. There are no Puerto Rican professionals.

For the above mentioned reason (Puerto Rican professionals staying in the Island) this stereotype might have risen in the 60's but no longer applies. Since the first migration, several New York born Nuyoricans, for example, have made intoads into the education and social work fields.

4. Puerto Rican men do not work; only their women do.

This stereotype, incidentally, is also applied to the Black communities (who also migrated to New York in the 50-60's in search of work), for it frequently was the female who was able to get a job first - usually as maids, cleaners, seamstresses, garment workers, factory workers, etc. The men had a much more difficult time finding work, and consequently, the stereotype developed. For the Puerto Rican community this is contrary to the cultural expectations of machismo which specifically places the burden of providing for the woman and children as proof of true manhood.

Also, a woman traditionally had no business in the world of work. An old saying goes that: "Because of the original sin, man is to forever toil and sweat for a living for listening to the temptation of Eve. For succumbing to temptation and seducing Adam, Eve must bear all her children with pain; and the snake shall forever crawl on its belly to be stepped on by man and in turn bite him with poisonous fangs."

5. Puerto Ricans are all poor.

While a great many Puerto Ricans arriving in the 50's were poor and their children are still in poorer sections of the economy, some of these second and third generation Puerto Ricans have made marginal improvements in areas of education and income, and there is talk of the beginnings of a Puerto Rican middle class. Also the Island Puerto Ricans (who may have been educated in the U.S. and returned to Puerto Rico) are a complete society composed of all levels of skills, jobs, professions and degrees of education.

EDUCATION

6. Education/Intelligence

a. Puerto Ricans are stupid.
b. Puerto Ricans do not go to school.
c. Puerto Ricans do not want to learn English.

As Puerto Rican children began to enter American schools in the early fifties, a view evolved that Puerto Rican children were stupid because they could not pass reading and intelligence tests on a par with the rest of the students. The educators at that time were not sensitive to the linguistic dilemma of young Puerto Ricans whose first language was Spanish and who found it hard to switch from Spanish at home to English in school. Also, for the most part their dexterity in English was not sufficient to allow for these children to successfully complete these tests. Finally, many of the test items had very little cultural relevance to the child's lifestyle (Anglo vs. Hispanic). These early frustrations led many young Puerto Ricans to tune-off to American educational processes and to drop out of school. In the arena of language, they tended to communicate in the language they had most experience with - Spanish.

These incidents and misinterpretations of those experiences tended to cause American teachers to hold the belief that Puerto Rican children were inherently stupid. As time went by, the teachers' expectations of the children became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

7. Puerto Ricans do not have respect for education.

In the 1950's as Puerto Rican children began to "fail" and drop out of the American school system, and parents did not respond to their warnings, American educators interpreted this to indicate a lack of respect for education and a general disregard for the educational process on the part of Puerto Rican parents. The truth of the fact was that at that time there were very few if any school personnel that could speak Spanish. Puerto Rican parents at this time were also hard pressed to provide for their families with both parents often having to work to earn at least $60.00 a week. (That was an outrageously low salary at that time.) With working time being so precious, many Puerto Rican parents could not afford to take a day off to go to open school week. Culturally, many Puerto Ricans who could make the sacrifice of time were hampered by the aforementioned language barrier which placed them at the mercy of their children as interpreters. Having to face this humiliation in public in front of their children was too painful. It only added to the erosion of parental authority already evident in other areas of their daily lives. This problem, which very few educators were aware of, or cared to be aware of, was seen as evidence of parental neglect in the areas of education when the opposite is true culturally. Puerto Ricans place a high value on education, and educators in the Island are looked up to almost as gods. This respect for education is also evident in the fact that most of the Puerto Rican politicians and great leaders have been traditionally men of letters (poets, essayists, historians, etc.).

FAMILY

8. Puerto Ricans have large families - Puerto Ricans are baby machines.

The kernel of truth here lies in the extended family system that developed in an agrarian society that was Catholic and viewed children as a gift from God and productive manual labor to work the soil. The colonization of Puerto Rico and its development as a country also demanded strong family ties to insure the survival of a few children under the harsh and almost impossible colonial conditions of the Spanish empire. Coming to New York, these early migrants brought with them these family patterns. With limited incomes and shortage of decent housing, the stereotype that all Puerto Ricans have large families developed. The Island and New York communities no longer adhere to the extended family system. The tendency is for both Islanders and Nuyoricans to limit their offspring as in the nuclear type of family (2.5 children).

9. Puerto Ricans have illegitimate children.

With the strong cultural base and societal reinforcement of family ties, family name reputation, and the patriarchal nature of Puerto Rican society, this stereotype is most inaccurate. The misinterpretation of the double standard reinforcing masculine pursuit of females even after marriage, might have been misinterpreted to be generally indicative of the acceptance of illegitimacy contracts). The sad reality is that the relationship is tolerated but never accepted. The same goes for the offspring of such unions.

10. Puerto Ricans like to live seven to one room.

As Puerto Ricans began to arrive in the 50's with large extended families, the lack of adequate incomes and housing necessitated that many early migrants cram as many relatives as possible in a small apartment until they could all get settled. They did not want to live seven to one room; they had to live seven to one room to survive.

SOCIAL

11. Puerto Rican women are passive.

Generally speaking, Puerto Rican cultural expectations are such that Puerto Rican society has traditionally expected women to behave in this particular manner. Since the industrialization of Puerto Rico and the migration to the United States, Puerto Rican women have begun to work, go to school and begin careers of their own, quite independent of the male Puerto Rican society. Many Puerto Rican households in the metropolitan area are female-headed households. This passiveness is being undone by the pressures of American society on the Puerto Rican woman to take her full share of responsibility in directing her life. It is a very sensitive issue for both Puerto Rican males and females. The kernel of truth here is open to interpretation. Male Puerto Ricans will tend to say "yes this is true". Female Puerto Ricans who are educated tend to deny it.

12. Cleanliness

a. Puerto Ricans are dirty.
b. Puerto Ricans bring roaches.
c. Puerto Ricans smell bad.

This stereotype might have developed as Puerto Ricans began to settle in the poorest housing sections of Brooklyn, the lower eastside, El Barrio, the east and south Bronx. Lack of resources and adequate income forced the Puerto Rican minority into these sections. They did not bring the rats and the roaches. The use of spices and condiments in Puerto Rican cooking may have also added to this stereotype.

13. Politics

a. Puerto Ricans do not have any political origin.
b. Puerto Ricans do not have any citizenship.
c. Puerto Ricans do not have a country.
d. Puerto Ricans are not American citizens.
e. Puerto Ricans do not vote.

These stereotypes developed because most Americans are not aware of the political reality of Puerto Rico's "unique" relation to the United States. Explain that Puerto Ricans have been American citizens since 1917. (Jones Act). Also establish that the question of the nature of this relationship will be coming up in the United Nations Committee on Decolonization. The facts remain that Puerto Ricans are American citizens until the day that the political status of the Island is settled one way or the other (state or independent nation).

This problem is further complicated by place of birth, parents' place of birth (you are Puerto Rican by ethnicity if you were born in Puerto Rico or if one or both of your parents were born in Puerto Rico). You are still considered Puerto Rican by ethnicity if you were born in the United States of native-born parents. You are, however, considered of Puerto Rican ancestry or surname if both your parents and yourself were born in the United States. Most Puerto Ricans who have this status will still reaffirm that they are truly Puerto Rican - as Puerto Rican as anyone who was born in the Island.

Politically the Puerto Rican community of the United States has been traditionally very under-represented and politically a non-voting population. In part this was due in the 50-60's to the language barrier that kept many Puerto Ricans from voting since they could not read English. Added to this were the educational requirements for voting. Most Puerto Ricans at that time did not, or could not, meet the educational requirements set forth. Since those days, the law has made allowances for Puerto Ricans to take the exam in Spanish. However, the voting turnout is still low. There are still unique circumstances to keep Puerto Ricans from the voting polls. One problem has been getting control of the political machines by Puerto Ricans. This process had begun in El Barrio with Antonio Mendez who successfully held the position of the representative of that area for years.

A second problem that still exists is the uncommitted stand around the community's permanent status in New York. Many Puerto Ricans still come to New York expecting to work and then go back home to Puerto Rico. There is no incentive to vote since they are not here permanently. The Island itself, however, has had a great deal of political activity since the beginnings of American occupation.

M O D U L E III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PUERTO RICO: THE CARIBBEAN SETTING

INTRODUCTION

To get a better understanding of the Puerto Ricans of New York, it is important to take a closer look at the land of their origin....the Island of Puerto Rico and its surrounding area. Three names which are familiar - West Indies, Antilles, and Caribbean - date back to the European discovery of the New World. "West Indies" was used by the European explorers because the aborigines of the islands (whom they called Indios) were first thought to be the inhabitants of the outlying regions of India. Columbus' original reason for sailing west was to find a new route to the East, so this seemed quite plausible. Finally, on his third voyage, Columbus decided that he had discovered a New World, not India. The term "Antilles" is thought to have been coined "Antillia" which appears on 15th century maps and means "interior" or "previous," possibly referring to the mythical lost continent of Atlantis.

"Caribbean" has its historic roots in the word "Carib," the name of the warlike, cannibalistic Indians who inhabited parts of South America and were beginning to overrun the more peaceful tribes of the Caribbean region at the same time as the European discovery of the area. Their invasion was checked by the arrival of the Europeans whose armor, firearms, and greed proved to be too powerful for all the inhabitants of the area, including the Caribs.

CARIBBEAN SEA

The Caribbean Sea

The Caribbean Sea is one of the largest branches of the Atlantic Ocean. It is about the size of Western Europe (750,000 miles), and stretches 900 miles from north to south, and 1800 miles from east to west. Out of that, about 87,000 square miles is dry land.

The islands in the Caribbean comprise a 2,500-mile-long archipelago, which begins at the Florida Keys and ends at Margarita Island near the northeast coast of Venezuela. Vast expanses of turquoise ocean separate the archipelago from the Gulf of Mexico to the west and the isthmus of Panama to the south. The rocky bottom of the Caribbean is an enormous basin divided into three valleys that gradually rise to form a massive submerged mountain range which would rival Mount Everest in height if its base were at sea level.

THE ISLANDS

The Islands

The West Indies are divided into three main geographical groupings:

The Bahamas - an archipelago of 4,403 square miles, made up of nearly 700 small islands and inlets. They are situated in the Atlantic Ocean, just north of where the ocean meets the Caribbean.

The Greater Antilles - the major land masses of the West Indies which include: Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico.

The Lesser Antilles - the large number of islands curving southeast from Puerto Rico including: the Leeward Islands (U.S. and British Virgin Islands, Guadalupe, St. Eustatius, and Saba, St. Martin, Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, and Montserrat; the Windward Islands (Martinique, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, The Grenadines, and Barbados);

the ABC Dutch Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao); Trinidad-Tobago, and Venezuela's Margarita Island.

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico, which is the eastern-most island of the Greater Antilles, is very much like a parallelogram in shape. This island is 111 miles from east to west, and 36 miles from north to south. There are three small offshore islands, Vieques, Culebra and Mona, as well as several tiny keys and islets, all of which comprise Puerto Rico's land area - 3435 square miles (about the size of Connecticut). Compared to her Greater Antillean neighbors, Puerto Rico is one-sixth the size of the Dominican Republic and one-thirteenth as large as Cuba.

The Island's north coast faces the Atlantic Ocean, the Caribbean Sea touches its eastern and southern shores, and the Mona Channel separates it from the Dominican Republic to the west. It lies 1,662 miles southeast of New York, 1,050 miles southeast of Miami, 550 miles north of Caracas, Venezuela, and 480 miles east of Cuba. Its centralized location between North, South, and Central America at the entrance of the Caribbean Sea has given Puerto Rico strategic military importance since the beginnings of Spanish colonization.

TOPOGRAPHY

Topography

The topography of the Island is extremely varied. The interior coastal plain begins to fold as one moves inland, with graceful, wave-like hills ascending gradually to the Cordillera Central. The Cordillera Central is a mountain range that stretches from east to west, ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 feet in height. Puerto Rico's best known peak is El Yunque (The Anvil) in the Luquillo Mountains. This peak measures 3,983 feet above sea level. But Puerto Rico's highest peak is Cerro de Punta, near Yayuya, 4,398 feet high.

Because of abundant, often torrential, rain in most sections of the Island, Puerto Rico has over 1,000 water courses, only fifty of which are navigable. Few qualify as true rivers as they are all quite short. The strongest rivers flow down from the Cordillera to the north coast. The longest, the Rio de la Plata (forty-six miles), meanders northward from Cayey to Dorado and the Atlantic shore. The most famous river is Loiza, just east of San Juan.

Although Puerto Rico is the the torrid zone (near the equator), its distance from the equator, coupled with steady trade winds from the north-east, keep temperatures at 85 degrees in the summer and in the 70's in the winter. The months of December through March are noticeably colder.

Some 3,600 billion gallons of water wash the Island each year. (Rainfall averages seventy-seven inches a year.) May and November are the dampest months with dry spells from January through April. Although there is plenty of rainfall, there is rarely a completely cloudy day. There may be several cloudbursts between periods of bright sunshine.

GEOGRAPHY OF PUERTO RICO

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS IN SLIDE PROGRAM

Trainee Manual pp 15

I. The Caribbean Sea

A. The Caribbean Sea is one of the largest branches of the Atlantic Ocean.

B. It stretches 1,800 miles east-west, and 900 north-south.

C. Total area: 750,000 square miles - roughly the size of Western Europe.

D. Only 1/8 of the Caribbean is dry land.

E. The island comprises a 2,500 mile arc which begins at Florida's southern tip and ends near the northeast coast of Venezuela.

F. Vast areas of clear blue water separate the archipelago from Mexico to the west and the Isthmus of Panama to the south.

II. Underwater Features

A. Composed of a very large, rocky basin, divided into three valleys that rise gradually to a submerged mountain range.

B. The exposed tops of these mountains are the islands of the Caribbean, or West Indies.

C. The Milwaukee Deep plunges 28,000 feet downwards off the north coast of Puerto Rico.

III. The Islands (The West Indies or the Antillian Isles)

A. West Indies is used as a name to distinguish them from the East Indies of India (Columbus erroneously thought that he had discovered the route to India, and so he named the area the "Indies" and the natives "Indians").

B. Divided into three main geographical groupings, as follows:

1. The Bahamas - an archipelago of 4,400 square miles, fractured into nearly 700 small islands and islets.

2. The greater Antilles - form the major land mass of the West Indies and include:

a. Cuba
b. Jamaica
c. Hispaniola (shared by Haiti and The Dominican Republic)
d. Puerto Rico

IV. The Lesser Antilles - curving southeast of Puerto Rico include:

A. The Leeward Islands (U.S. and British Virgins, Guadalupe, St. Eustatius and Saba, St. Martin, Antigua, St. Kitts Nevis Anguilla, and Montserrat).

B. The Windward Island (Martinique, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Grenadines).

C. Barbados

D. The A-B-C Duct Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao)

E. Trinidad-Tobago

F. Venezuela's Margarita Islands

V. Puerto Rico

A. Easternmost of the Greater Antilles.

B. Shaped like a parallelogram, measuring 111 miles east-west and 36 miles north-south.

C. Composed of the lesser islands of Vieques, Culebra and Mona Island.

D. Land area is 3,435 square miles - about the size of Connecticut.

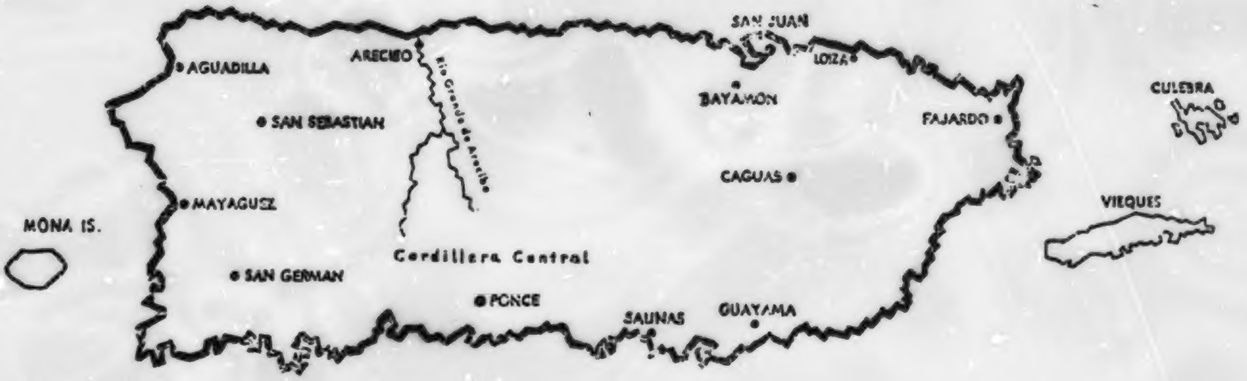
E. One-sixth the size of the Dominican Republic; one-thirteenth as large as Cuba.

F. The Island's north faces the Atlantic Ocean. The Mona Channel separates it from the Dominican Republic.

G. Lies 1,050 miles southeast of Miami, about . . .

1,662 miles southeast of New York;
550 miles north of Venezuela;
480 miles east of Communist Cuba.

PUERTO RICO[1]


SAN JUAN
AGUADILLA
ARECIBO
Rio Grande de Arecibo
LOIZA
BAYAMON
CULEBRA
SAN SEBASTIAN
FAJARDO
CAGUAS
MAYAGUEZ
VIEQUES
MONA IS.
Cordillera Central
SAN GERMAN
PONCE
SALINAS
GUAYAMA

MODULE III - ENDNOTES

1. Puerto Rico Map - Developed by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

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MODULE IV

INDIAN, AFRICAN & SPANISH CULTURES: THE FORMATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN NATION

PRE-ARUACAN AND ARUACAN CULTURES OF PUERTO RICO

ABORIGINES

The forefathers of the pre-Aruacan and Aruacan cultures of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean first appeared on the North American continent by travelling from the Siberian and Northern Chinese regions through the Bering Straits into what is now Alaska. This is estimated to have occurred about 10,000 B.C., although new evidence may prove they could have arrived here much earlier. It took these Mongolian tribes about 2,000 years to go from the frozen Alaskan tundra to the torrid Tierra del Fuego at the southern-most tip of Latin America.

ARCHAICS

The first pre-Aruacan inhabitants of Puerto Rico are referred to as the Archaics. These Indians migrated from the Bimini Peninsula of Florida through the Bahamas to Cuba and finally arrived in Puerto Rico. There were primitive food gatherers and fishermen, largely ignorant of agriculture, the use of any type of tool, the bow and arrow, pottery making, or stone sculpture. They did not possess the art of canoe-making and probably reached Puerto Rico on primitive log rafts. Very little is known about their way of life. They left few artifacts and they were eventually absorbed by the next incoming wave of Indians.

ARAWAKS

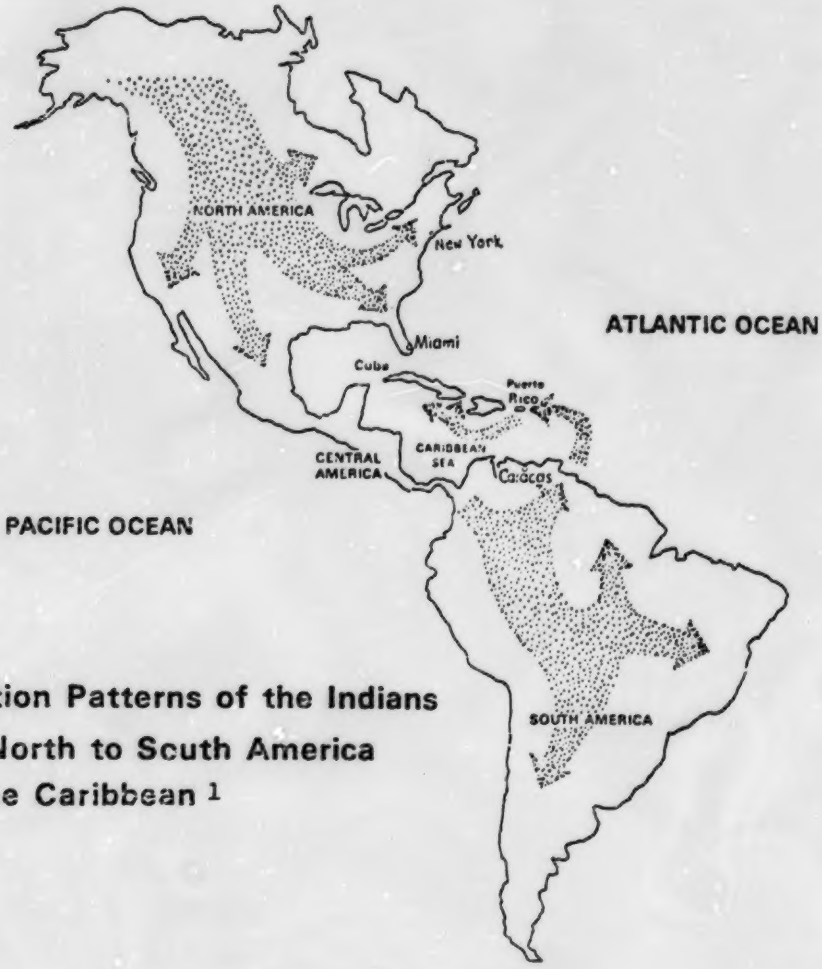
The next group, the Arawaks, came to Puerto Rico, from the Brazilian Basin, travelling up the Orinoco River through present day Venezuela, by way of the Caribbean and the Lesser Antilles. They called Puerto Rico "Boriken", meaning "Island of the Brave Men or the Most High God or Lord". (Later the Caribs referred to the Island as Oubao Moin, meaning "Island of Blood.") The Arawaks settled Boriken and eventually absorbed the Archaics. They also settled in the other Greater Antilles - Cubacanan (Cuba), Quisqueya (Hispanola), and Jamaica. These Indians, unlike their predecessors, were farmers but had not abandoned hunting and fishing. They possessed the bow and arrow and excelled in the making of many different canoes. They were experts in the production of ceramic pottery and sculpture. They also carved wood, stone seashells, bones of fish land mammals, and the gold found in the rivers.

CARIBS

The last wave of Indians into this area were the Caribs, arriving shortly before the Spanish in the late 1400's. They, too, migrated up the Orinoco River and probably were responsible for the Arawaks' migrating north. Unlike the peaceful Arawaks, the Caribs were warlike and indulged in ritualized cannibalism. They were superb navigators and warriors and often attacked Boriken for women and food.

ARUACAN DEVELOPMENT

The period of the Aruacan cultural development in Boriken is sub-divided into two developmental stages. The early stage of cultural development was that of the Igneri. The later state was that of the Tainos. It was the Taino Indian culture that was flourishing at the time the Spaniards arrived. Therefore this unit will focus on the Taino culture which was utimately to blend with the Spanish and African cultures in the heritage of the Puerto Rican nation.


NORTH AMERICA
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Miami
Cuba
Puerto Rico
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
Caracas
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA

Migration Patterns of the Indians from North to South America and the Caribbean [1]

THE TAINOS

The Tainos

Perhaps the Indian group which had the most influence on Puerto Rico were the Tainos. As all Indians of the New World, they were modified Mongolians who possessed red, copper colored skins, coarse straight black or dark brown hair, high cheekbones, and slightly oblique black eyes. They went completely naked and painted their bodies with red bija (the annatto seed or achiote) and the poisonous juice of the yuca which served as an insect repellant. Married women wore a short loincloth called a nagua as a symbol of their married status. The Tainos pierced their ears and decorated themselves with necklaces and feathers.

TAINO
SOCIETY

The Taino Society

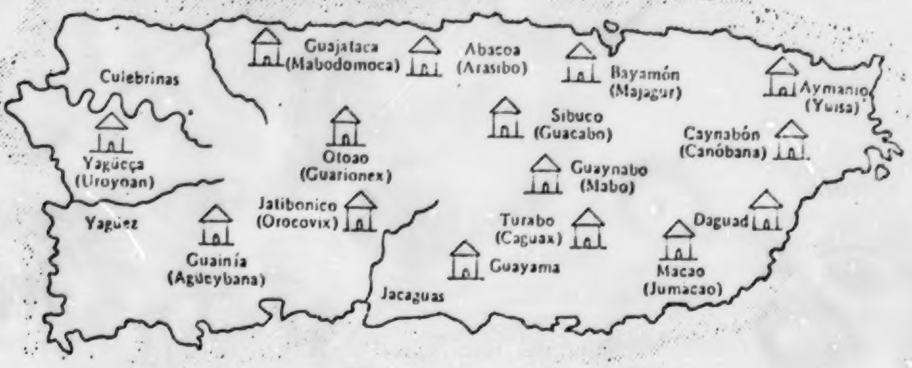
Taino life was built around a primitive, agricultural, communal society. There was no private ownership of land. All land was held common by the tribe and all shared in the produce. The culture of the Tainos was patriarchal with work divided by sex. The women were responsible for the hut or bohio, raising and caring for the children, cooking and cleaning and weaving fibers into naguas and other cloth. They raised the staple crop, yuca, in the conuco, or vegetable garden, and made casabe bread from yuca. Along with these agricultural chores, went the collection of wild roots, herbs and berries. The women made a fermented alcoholic drink from the native maize or corn and the bark of trees. Corn liquor is no longer produced today, although bark liquor, which is called mabi, is still made.

As with primitive patriarchal societies, the men did the hunting and fishing. They also warred against the intruding Carib Indians. The men did most of the stone sculpting, and bone and wood carving. In the village they built the bohios or caneys and constructed the canoes. However, both men and women worked on the production of ceramic products such as pots and clay figurines. They also sculpted necklaces of stone, seashells, gold, and bones.

When Columbus arrived, there were 20 cacicatos or provinces ruled by individual caciques or chiefs. Each cacicato was composed of villages called yucayeques of 300-600 individuals. The yucayeques had two types of housing units. The circular bohio was for the common workers and the quadrangular caney for chiefs, priests and warrior-nobles. They were constructed of yaga and hinea palms.

Each yucayeque (village) had a circular area called a batey, where all religious and social functions were held. During the arreytos, song-like chants were often recited by the village priest to commemorate such events as births, weddings, the death of a cacique or the naming of a new one, or war victories of the caribs.

LOCATION OF TAINO CACICATOS ON BORIKEN [2]



CLASS STRUCTURES

Social and Political Class Structure

The Tainos were divided into several social classes. The cacique or chief was responsible for the planning and directing of the various activities necessary for the survival of the cacicato and yucayeques therein. He or she was also responsible for leading the cacicato against the Caribs. Each cacique was autonomous, but in case of emergencies, all villages banded together under the leadership of the one cacique that was relatively safe from the Caribs, the Guainia cacicato in the southwest of the Island. Guainia was ruled by Agueybana the Elder at the time of the Spaniards' arrival. Although the Tainos had a patriarchal tribal system, the line of descent for the cacique came through the female. The cacique's sister's son (his nephew) became chief upon the elder's death. The title may have been inherited, but women often became caciquas as recorded by the Spanish when they visited the cacicato of Yuisa in the northeastern part of the Island.

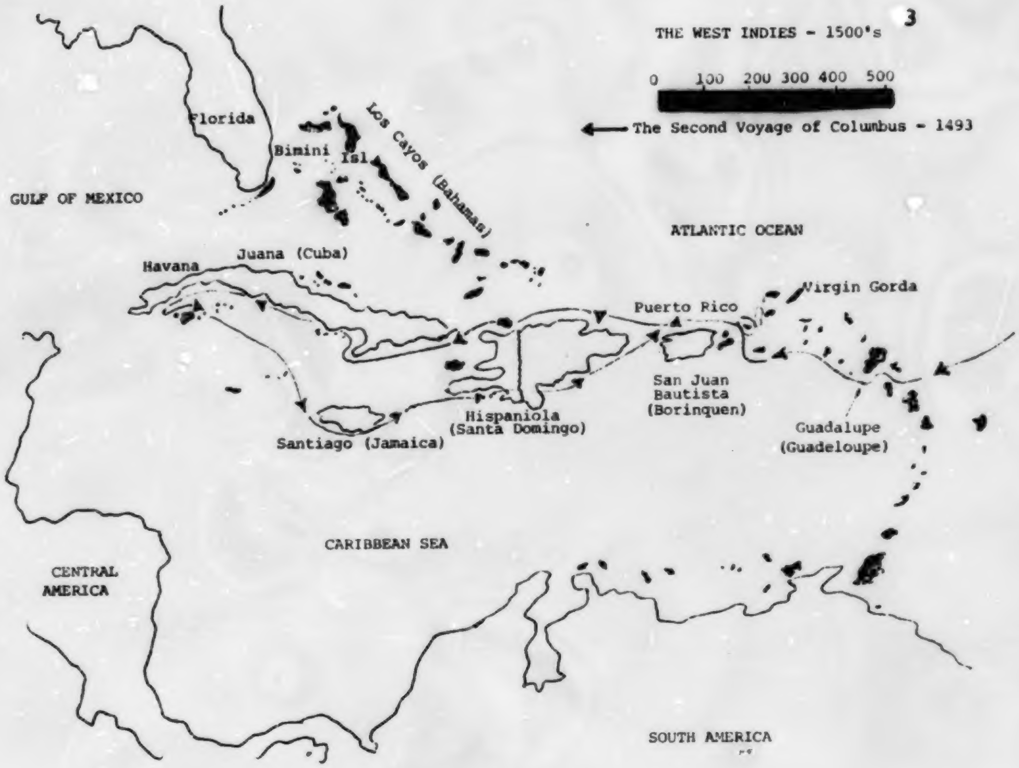
All caciques on the Island wore a guanin (a breast plate of solid gold) as a sign of the office and its authority. Upon the death of the cacique, the guanin, the dujo (his carved stone chair), and personal possessions were buried with him for use in the afterlife. His favorite wife was also buried with him. (This practice probably did not hold true for the caciquas and their favorite husband!)

The bohite, or priest, was close to, but separate from, the cacique; but these two classes complemented each other. The cacique might also be a bohite, and vice-versa. The cacique was responsible for all the religious functions and communications with the gods and evil spirits. In the arreyto, the bohite would recite all prayers and historical data. He was also responsible for casting spells and making herbal remedies. However, if his patient died during treatment, he was usually put to death by the patient's family. Next in the class system were the nitaynos. (The Spanish later corrupted this word into Taino and used it to refer to all the Indians on the Island.) They were the warrior-nobles of the tribe. Below the nitaynos were the laborers, called naborias. They were responsible for most of the heavy work done in the village. The last class was composed of slaves taken in battle, or guasabaras.

RELIGION

Taino Religion

For primitive society such as the Taino, the religious system was highly sophisticated, quasi-monotheistic, and worshipped such natural phenomena as the forces of good and evil, light and dark, etc. The supreme god, Yocahu, was perceived as the invisible, all powerful, omnipotent creator of the universe. He could not be represented in any images or idols and could not be prayed to directly by the priest. Below Yocahu was Yukiyu, the representative of the forces of good and light. His name is a derivative of the word yuca, the Taino food staple. Yukiyu was also not directly approachable. Certain small stone idols called cemis were used as messengers to the god on behalf of the tribe or individuals. Each household had its own protector cemi. In opposition to Yukiyu, but also under Yocahu, was the god Juracan, representing the forces of evil, darkness, and natural catastrophies (such as hurricanes). (The word hurricane is derived from the name of this god, Juracan.) He dwelled in Sibuqueria (Guadalupe), the place where hurricanes and Carib attacks originated from. It is little wonder that this force was identified as destructive and evil. Like Yukiyu, Juracan also had his messengers. Between the two opposing forces, and also under Yocahu, was the earth goddess, Atabex, the mother of all creation. The worship of Atabex parallels the worship of the Christian Virgin Mary and the Venuses of ancient Greek and Roman history.


3
THE WEST INDIES - 1500's
0 100 200 300 400 500
The Second Voyage of Columbus - 1493
Florida
Bimini
Isl.
Los Cayos (Bahamas)
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Havana
Juana (Cuba)
Puerto Rico
Virgin Gorda
San Juan Bautista (Borinquen)
Hispaniola (Santa Domingo)
Santiago (Jamaica)
Guadalupe (Guadeloupe)
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA

SPANISH COLONIZATION OF BORIKEN AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TAINO NATIONS

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historical Background

After Columbus discovered the New World in 1492, he returned to Spain with samples of plants, fruits, birds, Indians, and gold. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabela were delighted by his findings, but especially by the gold which was badly needed by the crown to recuperate from Spain's war losses at the hands of the Moors. (This was the time of the Reconquista in Spain.) They immediately commissioned a second voyage, and on September 25, 1493, Columbus embarked from the port of Cadiz taking with him 17 ships and 1,200 men including astronomers, cartologists, Catholic missionaries, artisans, laborers, pardoned criminals, and a young nobleman named Juan Ponce de Leon. A variety of domestic animals were also included. No women were included, a fact of great historical importance in the arena of race relations in present day Puerto Rico. Columbus reached the Caribbean on November 3, 1493, and after discovering Dominica and other lesser islands, he reached Santa Maria de la Guadalupe, where he found five Taino women and two youths held prisoners by the Caribs. Columbus rescued them, and they led him to their homeland which they called Boriken.

EARLY COLONIZATION

Early Colonization

Until 1508, there was no attempt by the Spaniards to colonize the Island, or exploit its natural resourses. In that year, Juan Ponce de Leon and 50 men landed at Guainia on the southern coast of the island. He was received by the *cacique*, Agueybana The Elder, and made a blood brother. With the aid of Tainos, Ponce de Leon explored the island and gathered samples of *yuca* and gold for his return trip to Spain.

At first the Tainos willingly traded gold to the Spanish and assisted them in their search for more gold deposits. However, the colonists became more and more demanding, and the Tainos soon refused the Spanish. In 1508 when King Ferdinand gave the Island its royal seal (the oldest in the New World), the Indians land was already being divided up and the Indians given as slaves to the Spanish colonists. Ponce de Leon, the governor of the Island distributed the Indian slaves in the following manner:

1. A high official with a wife would receive 100 Indians.
2. A gentlemen (*hidalgo*) with a wife would receive 80 Indians.
3. A squire with a wife would receive 30 Indians.

(It appears that single men did not receive land or Indians.) Although a *cacique* was assigned to each group of Indians, he was still subject to a white master. The Tainos worked full-time mining gold and growing food for the colonists. The Indians (men, women, and children) worked from dawn to dusk every day of the week except when they were given breaks to pray and attend to their own village.

The Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico caused the destruction of the Taino culture and the elimination of all Indians on the Island. With the break-up of village, agricultural, social, and religious systems, the Taino culture began to disappear. Spanish missionaries who sought to convert the Indians to Catholicism forced the Tainos to give up practices which the Spanish considered satanic (nudity, bathing in the river, celebrating the *arreyto*, etc.). Since growing *yuca* and making *casabe* was time consuming, it was not allowed. Inadequate strange foods were substituted in their place. The villages were dismantled and new housing was instituted.

In addition to the spiritual and cultural repression, the physical hardships caused the death of thousands of Indians. Conditions in the mines were cruel and harsh. The Tainos did not have natural immunity to imported diseases such as typhoid fever, cholera, bubonic plague, measles, chicken pox, smallpox, and syphilis. Outbreaks of these diseases caused the deaths of many Indians.

In the face of all these hardships, many Tainos refused to bear children. Many Indian children were killed by the Tainos to spare them the hardships of slavery to the Spanish. Other Tainos committed suicide or ran from the Island to their traditional enemies, the *Caribs*. These Indians would later return to kill and plunder the colonists.

TAINO REBELLIONS

Taino Rebellions

The Tainos did not immediately revolt against the Spanish. Since they had never seen pale skinned, bearded individuals who rode strange animals and possessed fire sticks (guns), the Spanish were perceived as immortal or divine. However, in 1510, a young Spanish colonist was drowned to test the immortality of the oppressors. After asking the pardon of the cadaver and watching it rot for three days, the Indians were convinced of the Spanish mortality. The Spanish were no longer gods. The caciques of the Island met and planned their rebellion against the Spanish.

In the first battle, the Indian leader was killed. Leaderless, the Indians retreated and were defeated by the superior firearms and military skills of the Spanish. In retaliation the Spanish attacked, burned, and slaughtered whole villages. This, however, did not end the struggle, and in 1513 and 1518 there were more rebellions, although they also failed. Those Indians who did not leave the Island ran away to the mountains to try to escape the slaughter, but the Spanish imported dogs to hunt the Indians down.

Not all the settlers were indifferent to the treatment of the Indians. In 1511, Fray Antonio de Montesino warned the settlers that they would die in mortal sin if they continued their mistreatment and oppression of the Indians. He was asked to recant, but the Dominican Friars of Hispaniola supported him and sent him to Spain to plead to the King. The settlers were ordered to shorten working hours, tend the sick Indians, and baptize them. Each settler was required to teach at least one Indian in his charge to read and write. Married Indian women were exempted from working in the mines, and young children under fourteen could not be assigned hard labor. This edict from Spain was difficult to enforce, and the abuse continued. The move by the Catholic Church was not as altruistic as it seemed since the Friars argued for the importation of Africans to alleviate the plight of the Indians. All these measures were in vain. The disruption of the Taino culture, destruction of their religious beliefs, maltreatment, disease, and rapes by the Spanish conquistadores sealed the doom of the Taino.

In 1514, Sanchez Valaques, the governor of Puerto Rico, took a census and reported to the King that the count of all his Highness' Indians was not even 4,000. This loss of manpower and the depletion and final exhaustion of the gold deposits on the Island led the Spanish Crown to emphasize agriculture as a means for the Island to support itself. This caused the colony to adopt a new source of labor: Black African slaves. In 1519 an epidemic of smallpox brought by the newly imported Africans killed most of the remaining one-third of the Indian population on the Island. In 1521, the last remaining 600 Indians were freed from servitude and put to work on a Royal Reservation in Tao.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Cultural Contributions of the Tainos

Because of the virtual disappearance of the Taino nation so early in Puerto Rican history, the Taino contribution to the general culture is small in comparison to the Aztec contribution to Mexico and the Inca contribution to Latin America countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Chile . . . but contribute they did. The Taino *bohio* dominated the Puerto Rican country side well into the 19th century. Some of the Indian foods and drinks are still cultivated and brewed today by their descendents (for instance, *yuca*, *mabi*, herbal cures and teas, *yautia*, *casabe*, *achiote*, *batata*, *maize*, fish a la *barbacoa*, *guanime*, *crabs jeuves* and all sorts of condiments such as *ajis*). From the *arreyto* of the Tainos came the *maraca* and *guiro* (a hollow gourd with striations on it used in the popular music of the *jibaros*). The language of Puerto Rico of today has been enriched and made unique by such Taino words as *huracan*, *batey*, *mabi*, *enagua*, *canoa*, *hamaca*. Taino words for the flora (*caoba*, *usubo*, *agumo*, *tabonuco*, *anamu*, *malagueta*, *higuero*, *mahagua*, *tabaco*) and for fruits (mango, mamey, quama, *anon*, *guayaba*, *guanabana*) are still in use today. Many Taino place names survive: rivers that crisscross the Island (*Loiza*, *Yaguez*, *Duey*, *Druabo*, *Casey*, *Maricao*, *Gaonica*) and districts and cities (*Caguas*, *Humacao*, *Arecibo*, *Gurabo*, *Mayaguez*, *Orrocovis*, *Camuy*, *Canobanas*, *Coamo*, *Guaynabo*, *Loiza*, *Maunabo*, *Hutuado*, and *Cabuey*). The Taino genetic imprint can still be seen in the sons and daughters of Puerto Rico especially in the *jibaritos* of the mountain regions. These people today are reminders of an ancient heritage whose cordiality and simple way of life is devoid of empty formalities. Their inheritance is found in the *jibaritos*' most cherished and coveted customs and rituals, and their love of the land. This, however, must not be mistaken for what some have misinterpreted as the passivity of the Puerto Rican nation, the myth of "el Puerto inqueno ninangotao", or the kneeling Puerto Rican.

ECONOMIC
IMPETUS

BLACK SLAVERY IN PUERTO RICO (1535 - 1640) (First Sugar Cycle)

Economic Impetus for the Importation of Black African Slaves

The early years of the 16th century were critical for the survival of the colony. The year 1530 was particularly decisive. The gold was almost exhausted. Three hurricanes razed the Island, destroying the sugar and other agricultural crops. The settlers, unable to pay for the African slaves, went heavily into debt. Caribs attacked San German, killing five friars. The French corsairs looted and plundered the same town and burned it to the ground. The bold Caribs even attacked San Juan.

In 1531, Francisco Pizzaro stopped at the Island on his way back from the plunder and rape of the Inca Empire and filled the colonists' heads with tales of the fabulous loot to be gotten by Peru. "May God take me to Peru" became the popular saying of the day. As a result, so many colonists left the Island that the governor ordered that anyone caught leaving the Island without official permission would have their right leg amputated.

As gold finally ran out, the governor requested that the Spanish Crown substitute and encourage agriculture as a means for the colony to sustain itself. The main crop to be planted, sugar, came to have great historical importance.

The need for an agricultural system, the disappearance of the Taino as a labor source, and the unwillingness of the few Spanish colonists to supply the necessary labor for growing and harvesting sugar, and for running large cattle ranches, resulted in the importing of Black African slaves.

Permission to import Black slaves to Puerto Rico was granted by the Spanish Crown in 1503, but few slaves were imported at that time. As sugar and cattle acquired economic importance in the late 1520's and the early 1530's, Blacks began to be imported in large numbers to Puerto Rico. By 1530 there were 1,500 Black slaves out of a total population of 3,000 people.

AFRICAN
ORIGINS

African Origins of Puerto Rican Slaves

Between 1530 and 1848, when the slave trade was officially ended in the New World, Blacks arrived in Puerto Rico from many diverse kingdoms and tribal groups:

1. Fulas
2. Jelofes
3. Berbers
4. Mandingos
5. Ashantis
6. Yorubas
7. Bantus
8. Carabalis
9. Mozambiques, Angolas
10. Dingas

Prior to European exploration and exploitation of the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast in West Africa, there esisted many highly civilized, sophisticated African kingdoms. Some of these were: the Mandingo with its capital at Timbuktu; the Ashanti in Ghana; the Songhai and Yoruba with their twin cities of Ife and Benin; and the Dahomean Kingdom of Dahomey. The Benin and Ife cultures produced the famous Benin Bronzes which are equal to the finest bronzes produced by the Greek Classical and Italian Renaissance periods.

Slavery existed prior to the coming of the Europeans since frequent warfare between kingdoms always created slaves. That, however, did not justify the systematic slavery that Africans were subjected to when the Portuguese and Spanish slave traders arrived.

With the Europeans, slavery became lucrative. "Black gold" was in demand in the New World colonies, and Europeans began to systematically capture and buy slaves in large numbers to export to the New World. Rum, guns, gunpowder, cheap trinkets, and calico cloths and tobacco were traded for slaves. African chiefs raided each other's villages for slaves, and when this failed, the chiefs would sell some of their own people into slavery.

The first slaves to be imported to Puerto Rico were Ladinos, that is, the descendents of slaves born and raised in Spain. They were Christian and spoke Spanish. For all intents and purposes, the Spanish perceived them as being "domesticated" and "civilized." It was hoped that these slaves would be able to tutor and convert "wild" African slaves to the advantages of being a Christian slave. To the dismay of the Spanish, the Ladinos became the first ones to try to organize the African slaves to rebel against the Spanish. As a result, the Spanish forbade the importation of Ladinos to the New World.

SLAVE
LIFE

The Life of the Black Slaves

For black slaves life in the cane fields of Puerto Rico was, as in any slave system, short and extremely oppressive. The Spanish had developed a code of laws and regulations that defined Indians as well as black slaves as rational human beings capable of "Christian salvation". There was a great gulf, however, between Spain and the Caribbean in obeying the letter of the law and the realities of slavery.

In Puerto Rico, as with any society where slavery has existed, the slaves were dehumanized, physically and psychologically brutalized, and stripped of their linguistic, cultural, and human rights.

Like slaves in the other New World colonies, those of Puerto Rico did not accept their enslavement as peacefully or as meekly as they were coerced to do by the ruling class. Like the Taino Indians before them, the Africans fought, resisted, planned and plotted in every way for their liberation. There were individual attacks on masters, and slaves would run away to the mountains of the interior. The runaways were referred to as cimarrones. The rebellions, when they occurred, were small and therefore easily put down by the ruling authorities.

In order to prevent such occurrences, the Spanish purposely mixed tribes of different language classes, so that they would be forced to learn Spanish, and not communicate secretly in their native languages. Slaves were not taught to read or write, nor were they allowed to gather in large groups for long periods of time.

Every slave upon arrival in the Island was branded on the arm with a hot iron (carrimbo) to insure that he/she had been properly taxed and was not contraband. Most of these unfortunate human beings were to be literally worked to death in the cane fields in the coastal plains of Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the New World.

TYPES OF SLAVES

Types of Slaves

Slaves on the plantation were divided according to the type of labor they performed. The following divisions were used in Puerto Rico:

1. Domestic slave (esclavo de casa): They worked in the white master's house and did all the domestic chores such as cleaning, cooking, washing, caring for young children, etc. These were often women.

2. Field slave (esclavo de tala): They did most of the heavy labor required to run the large sugar and cattle plantations in the Island (specifically sugarcane cutting). Men, women and children as young as six years old were forced to labor in hot tropical sun from dawn to dusk. Their lot was one of hard physical labor and abuse.

3. Day slave (esclavo de jornal): This slave was leased out by his master to another plantation with the wages for the labor going to slave's master.

In order to minimize the cost of keeping slaves (in 1831 the average prices for slaves were: children aged 5-6 years, $100.00 and aged 18-25 years, $250.00), the food they received was healthy, unbalanced and hardly capable of supporting a human being in a hot tropical climate cutting sugarcane. Their diet consisted primarily of boiled corn meal (funche), dried codfish (bacalao), boiled plantains, yuca, yautia, and later panapen (breadfruit). House slaves received coffee, and field slaves were given rations of sugarcane juice and ginger. To these foodstuffs they added their own native spices to prepare food in the manner which has contributed to the Indian and Spanish elements in Puerto Rico cooking and dietary habits.

SLAVE QUARTERS

Slave Quarters

Slave quarters were constructed of palm and similar in structure to the Indians bohio and the native African hut. These units were usually in back of the master's household. There were generally two types of housing:

1. one-room huts for the married slaves; and,
2. sexually-segregated cuarteles for the unmarried slaves.

Each unit had an overseer to keep order and inform the white master of any irregularities or subversive activities.

LAW AND PUNISHMENT

Slave Laws and Punishments

As with all slave societies, ways were found to brutalize or physically coerce those who were unwilling to work or to accept being slaves. The most popular method of punishment was whipping. Those slaves who were initially branded on arrival upon the island were, if they ran away, branded their foreheads with the *carrimbo* as a sign that they could not be trusted. A slave woman who became pregnant without her master's permission would be whipped until she aborted the fetus.

Female slaves were also subjected to sexual excesses, or abuses, and rapes by white masters. The Black man was psychologically castrated by his inability to protect and defend the physical and moral integrity of his woman. The children of such forced unions, the *mulatto*, along with his *mestizo* (half Indian - half Spanish) brothers and sisters, were to play a significant role in the development of the Puerto Rican national consciousness in the 19th century. Slaves that became too old to work were left out in the field to die, causing little trouble for the master. Children were forced to work in the fields, and those who were too young to work there were put to work roasting coffee. If young children tended to fall asleep on the job, their eyelashes were torn out to prevent them from falling asleep.

THE CHURCH & SLAVERY

The Catholic Church and Black Slavery

The Catholic Church would often contribute not only to depriving the slaves of their cultural, religious, and linguistic origins, but also recommended regular whipping so that the slaves would give up their "satanic" African paganism and unEuropean way of life. Also, Black and Indian slave labor was used to build the opulent Catholic cathedrals found throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. Those slaves unwilling or unable to work would have their arms and legs amputated.

Along with the enslavement of the Indian populations of the New World, the Catholic Church encouraged the enslavement of the "pagan" Black Africans on the grounds that this world insure their salvation. All newly arrived slaves were baptized. Failure to do so would result in a $25.00 fine and the master being declared negligent. The Church received a fee for all these services. Slaves were forced to pray each night before going to bed and in some instances prayers were said three times a day. On Sundays, the slaves were herded into church and forced to pray and listen to Catholic Mass.

The Church also encouraged and reinforced racism by keeping separate books of baptism for Whites and Blacks. By this practice the Church became the keeper of the geneological records and would award certificates of purity of blood (*certificados de pureza de sangre*) to insure that no White citizen had any Indian or Black ancestry. To the Spaniards on the Islands, the Mulatto and the Mestizo were people of an inferior breed.

The emphasis placed on the forced Christianization of the Indians and Blacks in the Spanish colonies had unforeseen results. These people had already possessed highly developed, ritualized, and formal religious practices, and Christianity did not erase these beliefs. Instead, a synthesis of these took place that produced cults and variations on the original religions and subsequently became uniquely Caribbean religions. Out of these hybridizations came such religions as the Yoruba Lucumi (Cuba), Obeah (Jamaica), Macumba, Candonble, Umbanda (Brazil), Arrara Vudum (Haiti), and spirtualism (Puerto Rico).

CULTURAL
CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions of African Slaves to Puerto Rican Culture

The contribution of African slaves to the Puerto Rican national consciousness and culture are many, although traditional Puerto Rican historians have tended to ignore or gloss over these contributions in their writings. This tendency has had the effect of depriving the Black Puerto Ricans of an awareness and pride in the contributions of their race to the general panorama of Puerto Rican history and culture.

Foremost in the contributions of the Africans in Puerto Rico is the racial element introduced into the Puerto Rican blood lines as a result of interracial rape of Black women by the Spanish males on the Island. Black genetic contributions can be clearly seen in the endless variations of complexions, hair textures, facial features, and eye color found in the Puerto Rican populace of today. The linguistic input is clearly demonstrated by the large number of terms handed down by the African slaves. However, it is in the musical and dance forms that the African element is most visible present and cannot be denied.

The Africans who integrated music and dance into every aspect of their native culture also integrated these existing forms into the Indian and Spanish forms developing on the Island. From this gradual blending came the subsequent developments of la plena, la bomba, and el baquine. The first two forms had their origins in the Barrio of San Anton in the city of Ponce.

They were probably fertility dances done by the slaves to insure the fertility of the women and to honor such fertility figures as Yemaya, Ochun, and Obatala. The last form was performed by a Black woman upon the death of a small child. Through chanting and dancing, the mother would ask the god to take the spirit of the child to heaven and to bring the woman more fertility. These dance elements were further influenced by the coming of the French immigrants from the island of St. Dominique and Haiti, who also settled in the city of Ponce.

To the already existing Spanish guitar and the Indian maracas and guiro were added drums with such names as:

1. timbales
2. bongos
3. congas
4. pandereta - a tamborine-like instrument thought to be Indian in origin.

THE HISPANIC
LEGACY

THE SPANISH CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUERTO RICO

Although the Indian and the African cultural, linguistic and racial elements are evident and not to be denied in the general panorama of Puerto Rican history and culture, neither can the Spanish element be denied or understood that Puerto Rico is basically a Hispanic country with a rich Hispanic legacy that does not begin with the discovery of Boriken by Columbus. This Hispanic legacy began with the earliest cultural developments in the Iberian Peninsula and was transferred to the Caribbean by the Spanish settlers. Along with her sister Latin republics, Puerto Rico shares the linguistic inheritance of the Spanish language. This element is a core of identity not only for Hispanic islands of the Caribbean, but also for the Hispanic republics of Latin America.

It cuts across the individual cultural peculiarities of these countries and helps emphasize the oneness of "La Raza", or the Latin people. It was the dream of many nationalists (Simon Bolivar, Jose Marti, Emeterio Betances) that all the Spanish speaking countries would unite under the common language and culture and someday become one people.

THE JIBARITO

The cultural setting of the Island is heavily Spanish with Indian and African influences. The Puerto Rican psyche was molded by the peculiarities of a tropical setting, but there still remains a feeling, mood, and general personality that is undeniably Iberian in origin.

The *jibarito* of the Puerto Rican mountain regions best exemplifies this Spanishness. He is the true representative of those Spaniards who came to Puerto Rico and settled in these regions. He kept the legacy of the *conquistador* forefathers in a unique and almost racially unmixed population. His language is rich in Golden Century Spanish aphorisms.

The jibarito modified the Spanish flamenco guitar into a truly Puerto Rican instrument called the *cuatro*. It combines the sounds of the guitar and the mandolin. Dance forms such as *el seis choreao*, *la danza*, and *el paso doble* are nearly identical to the originals found in the region of Andalucia, Spain, where many of the conquistadores originated.

DRESS AND ARCHITECTURE

The dress of the Puerto Ricans (for instance, the use of the mantilla, the fans) are remnants of a rich Moorish-Spanish heritage. With the exception of the Indian *bohio*, the architecture of Puerto Rico is rich in the Spanish Colonial style. Old San Juan is a magnificient example of Spanish architecture in the New World. The Porta Coeli Church in San German is the oldest catherdral in the New World. The Castillo de San Cristobal del Moro is one of the best examples of a Spanish military fortress in the New World. The terrain of the Island is dotted with the *hacienda* type of terra cotta houses, typical of the Spanish style.

THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES IN PUERTO RICO

BACKGROUND

Background

At the beginning of the 17th century, there were no more than 3,000 people in Puerto Rico. There were several hundred whites, about 1,000 black slaves, and over 1,000 free blacks and mulattoes. This population did not live in all the habitable parts of the Island but was concentrated on the northern coastal plains, near the capital city of San Juan. It was in these localities that sugarcane, the main agricultural product, was traditionally grown and harvested. Politically, this area was at the heart of the administrative, ecclesiastical and commercial classes of the colony. The capital and surrounding areas were the beginning of the Puerto Rican nation. Indeed, the 17th-18th centuries were the fermenting periods in the formation of the Puerto Rican national consciousness that began in the late 18th century and was solidified in the 19th century.

CLASS STRUCTURE

Administrative, Ecclesiastical, Military Triad

The 17th-18th centuries also saw the rise of the class structure that was to dominate Puerto Rican culture until the American invasion in the late 1800's. At the top were the administrative, ecclesiastical, and military leaders of what was basically a military-clerical state. In Puerto Rico, the soldiers, administrators, and churchmen had more power than the landowners and merchants. This could only exist in a colonial society such as that of Puerto Rico, since political power was not, as it traditionally is, vested in the economic power base of the merchants and landowners. Puerto Rico was a colonial product of Spain's mercantilist economic policy. While the affluent formed small power groups, the real power rested with the military establishment. Although the military ruling class did not control the internal economics of the Island, it represented the mother country, Spain, and she held the power. The lack of control over internal economics by the military was offset by San Juan's control of import-export trading that went on in the Island. Although imports were allowed from countries besides Spain, all exports were overseen by Spanish officials. Early in the growth of the colony, San Juan developed as the center of all the trading that took place in the colony. All goods were sent there by landowners, bought by traders, and taxed by the Spanish military authorities. All goods were bought by Spanish traders and merchants, and shipped on Spanish ships, under the Spanish flag. Thus, Spain maintained a monopoly on all trade. Control was exerted on internal economy by controlling the exportation of those goods. Even the merchants came under the power of the ruling class, since they depended on the army and the armadas to protect their interests from pirates and local inhabitants. It seems clear that Puerto Rico never had a civil administration, since all civil matters ultimately ended up in the hands of the military or the church. (Civil servants were always part of the military establishment.) It is not, therefore, very difficult to imagine the military completely dominating and controlling Puerto Rican society. They were the recognized agents of the Spanish Crown, and they possessed the weapons to enforce that power.

The effects of a military ruling class were predictable and far reaching on Puerto Rican society then and now. The military brought with it a Spanish culture including the Catholic religion and a traditional family system that was heavily sexist. The Catholic Church in Puerto Rico was an extension of the military regime. From the beginning of the Spanish occupation, Catholicism was the only religion tolerated on the Island. Priests arrived with the occupying forces of Juan Ponce de Leon and were instrumental in the general repression that led to the elimination of the Taino Indians, as well as the oppression of the black slaves. By an agreement worked out by the Pope in Rome and the Spanish Crown, the colonial Church was given certain privileges (known collectively as real patronato) by which the Catholic Church in Puerto Rico as well as the rest of the New World was kept subservient to the Crown and its representatives. Other Christian religions were excluded on the grounds that religious diversity would only lead to dissention and eventual rebellion. The Church also comprised the bulk of Puerto Rico's teachers, and, therefore education was given to the children of the ruling class. Rarely were children of the peasant class or non-whites educated. If education went on for the lower sectors of the colony, children were taught to accept the status quo.

MERCHANTS

The Merchants

The merchant class in Puerto Rico was caught in a sociopolitical limbo: powerful enough to create and maintain economic activity, influential enough to aid the ascendency of the ruling clique, but not powerful or influential enough to topple the government and assume control.

The effect of the merchants on Puerto Rican society was minimal, yet significant. Their contacts with others (Dutch, English, and French) helped introduce diverse cultural practices to the Island. They also helped non-Spanish colonists settle in Puerto Rico. Their most important contribution, however, was their emergence as a visible, easily attacked symbol of Spanish oppression. The merchant class became the focal point of the Islanders' early nationalistic strivings.

COUNTRY BOURGEOISIE

The Country Bourgeoisie

This class had its beginning in the 17th century but developed fully in the 18th century when land reforms introduced the repartition of grazing land and the sale of moderate sized haciendas which were formerly indirectly owned by the merchants. These reforms created a need for colonists who were willing to buy land, settle permanently and farm.

In the 17th century most of the colonists on the Island were the decendents of the original Spanish settlers that came with Juan Ponce de Leon. In the latter half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, rich immigrants from revolutions in Latin American countries (predominantly French Haitians, Venezuelans and Columbians) settled in Puerto Rico. The addition of these outcasts of political revolutions had many ramifications. They were politically liberal and often aligned themselves with those segments of the population desiring the removal of Spain. Their "liberalism" extended only to their own interests, however. They never acted on behalf of all Puerto Rican people since they wanted to rule the Island themselves. They owned and controlled the only section of the economy that was truly Puerto Rican. Their power was based in the countryside where, by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the population had begun to concentrate. Their power was unchallenged by slaves or free men (agregados) since these workers lived or made their living on land owned and run by these sugar and coffee barons.

Only the Spanish army held them in check. The bourgeoisie often sent emissaries to Spain to ask for (not demand) a situation free of repressive tariffs, taxes, laws and the stifling influence of the San Juan administrative bureaucracy. They attacked the evils of the colonial system, not the system itself. The abolition of slavery and the improvement of the welfare of the Puerto Rican peasant was not one of their concerns. The abolition of slavery would have been the death blow to the bourgeoisie life. The slave was the tool for working the land; their removal would have been economic suicide.

JIBARO

The Mountain Jibaro

The image of the can-cutting jibaro (with his machete) as the Puerto Rican of today, is very distorted. The true jibaro worked the mountainous regions of the Cordillera Central and was a peasant, not a free day laborer. He developed in the mountains isolated from the coastal plans. His ancestry was basically Spanish with Indian cultural-racial roots. The introduction of the coffee industry in the 18th century further augmented his ranks. He usually worked small family-run farms or became a share cropper on large coffee plantations. Coffee, unlike sugar, needed precise picking methods because of the small size of the coffee berry. The processing of coffee was time consuming and slow. Coffee needed more than just a cutter and a mill. It had to be picked, sorted and laid out to dry, then repicked by hand to be packed for sale. For these reasons, the crop did not lend itself to large operations. In order to minimize costs and realize a profit, owners of large coffee plantations would lease or rent plots of land to be worked by one family. The payment of rent was often decided on the output of the land. These agregados would sometimes stay on the same land for generations but often left for the land of their ancestors in the interior and set up subsistence farms of their own.

In the mountains, the jibaro inherited the Spanish language and culture, and the antisocial individualism of early Spanish soldiers and sailors who came to the Island to make their fortunes. Tempering this individualism was the inheritance of a cordiality and way of life of their Taino ancestors. The image of the lean peasant on his emaciated horse, with bare feet, a broad brimmed hat, cotton shirt, and pants going to a cockfight or market is often portrayed as the ideal Puerto Rican rustic. This false image of a contented peasant happy to be in all this natural beauty of the Island hides such oppression, exploitation, and poverty which characterized the life of the jibaro then, and continues to do so today.

JORNALERO

The Jornalero

The word jornalero refers to the day worker. The inability of the coffee industry to absorb all the jibaros in the mountains, the subsequent decline of coffee as a cash crop, and the agricultural reforms of the 1850's precipitated the formation of this class. Those jibaros who were not sharecroppers but owned their own lands were slowly driven out by the consolidation of coffee, sugar and tobacco lands. They migrated to the coastal plains and hired themselves out to cut cane alongside the African slaves. Although the passbook laws limited their freedom of movement from job to job, the jibaros were still able to move around and bridge the gap that existed between the Black slaves and the poor White masses in the mountains. They were able to integrate the legacy of their Spanish and Taino heritage with that of the African coastal culture. In this process, they were instrumental in furthering the homogenization of the three cultures and, at the same time, contributing to the individualization of the rising Puerto Rican national consciousness. The jornalero was to become a symbol of the developing Puerto Rican working class.

PETIT
BOURGEIOSIE

The Petit Bourgeiosie

One group of professional men (doctors, lawyers, journalists, and teachers) contributed extensively to San Juan's intellectual life and to the liberal reformist movement. This group, the petit bourgeoisie, ranked below the ruling triad, the merchant class and the country bourgeoisie.

This class, while not always present from the beginning of the colonial period, came into true evidence in the latter half of the 18th century. For the most part, they were second and third generation sons and daughters of Spanish colonials. Many were of mixed racial ancestry - children of Spanish noblemen and white criollo (Island born), Black or Indian mothers. Fathers often did not acknowledge the existence of mothers who were slaves, but would set the children free, raise them, and educate them. As these children of mixed parentage grew, their awareness of their background, the realities of a racist colonial system, and their European education all combined with growing distinction between criollos and Spaniards produced conditions which fostered the growth of a separatist movement in the last half of the 19th century. The Spaniards not only subjected this group to all sorts of socio-political abuse but also saw them as being inherently inferior (although the Spanish could not all claim to be free from any racial mixtures themselves).

The reaction among the petit bourgeoisie was one of anger and resentment. Personal insult to them was reflected in every oppressive colonial tax, tariff, and cultural coercion, even though they might never have been touched by such things in the past. The liberal reformist persuasion of this group grew not so much out of concern for the suffering masses but from personal anger at being considered inferior to the Spaniards. They were literate, controlled the press, and were the first ones to use the word "Puerto Rican" to refer the Island's people and culture. Their writing made the concept popular, and they found sociological theories to support the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican nation as a valid cultural development and not as a degeneration of the Spanish colonial culture. They began to explore the cultural contributions of the masses in their essays, calling attention to the contributions of all people in the colonial New World. They began to set up contact with their comrades in

Latin America who shared their feeling of being oppressed by the colonial Spaniards. In essence, they became the main suppliers of revolutionary leaders, and while not being the creators of the Puerto Rican culture alone, they were her earliest defenders and the forecasters of the national identity of which that culture is founded.

SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE CARIBBEAN

SOCIO-
POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENTS

Socio-Political Developments

The 17th century saw Spain in economic, political and military decline. This was primarily due to excessive taxation of industry, lack of interest in new and better methods of agriculture, and inefficient and free spending monarchy, internal political fragmentation, and uncalculated, disastrous involvements in European conflicts.

The developments in the Caribbean reflected this power loss in Europe. Spain's enemies (England, France and the Netherlands) began to establish permanent footholds and settlements in the Caribbean and other parts of the New World claimed by the Spanish Crown. In the first part of the 17th century, France and England began to occupy several of the Lesser Antilles and the Dutch occupied the islands of Aruba and Curacao. In 1650 the English occupied Jamaica, and by the end of the century, France took over the western half of Hispanola (St. Dominique, later to be called Haiti).

In spite of these changes, Puerto Rico itself remained virtually unchanged. The population remained small and grew slowly, although there was some internal migration into the mountains, the majority of the Islanders stayed on the northern plain, near San Juan. A few new settlements were founded (Ponce, Caomo, and Arecibo), but San Juan maintained economic and political supremacy. San German, founded in the earlier part of the 17th century, continued to be the second largest settlement.

The governor continued to have unchecked authority in all matters and the local population continued to be excluded from any participation in the colonial administration. The Spanish policy was to discourage local political development. Military defense was given top priority. The fortress of El Morro was expanded and a massive wall was constructed to surround the entire city. The new fort was named El Castillo de San Cristobal del Morro. The Spanish, already distrustful of the local populace, made certain the local militia were under the direct command of Spanish officers and issued ordinances that prohibited the arming of the militia who were for the most part criollos. In spite of this repression the islanders remained loyal to Spain, and, in 1702, they repelled the English landing in Arecibo and the Dutch landing in Aguadilla in 1703.

Throughout the 17th century the Puerto Rican economy was primarily agricultural with the emphasis on sugar and hides for exportation. For a few years cocoa and ginger became important but these never supplanted hides and sugar production.

CATTLE &
CONTRABAND

The Cattle and Contraband Period (1640-1750)

Because of the economic and political decline of Spain, the mother country could not supply the manufactured goods and food commodities that were in demand on the Island, nor could it absorb the few goods the Island had for export. As a result the sugar and cattle ranchers began to turn to the enemies of the Spanish Crown (France, England and the Netherlands) for those products not available through Spain. The populace were more than willing to do business with foreign merchants. During this century there developed a lively contraband trade in which even the highest officials of the administration took part. San Juan itself saw some of this illegal traffic, but for the most part, the bulk of this trade took place on the isolated southern coast of the Island. In a place the settlers called Ponce, local farmers and cattlemen indulged in a lively exchange of goods with English, French and Dutch traders. Other settlements such as Cobo Rojo and Fajardo were remembered in legends and folklore as ports of call for Puerto Rican corsairs and pirates who often harried and raided the French, English and Dutch traders. The contraband trade of the 17th century profited only a small handful of local producers, merchants, and government officials. The majority of the population (both free and slave) remained poor and isolated, both commercially and socially, from the capital and the outside world. The economy was mainly concentrated in the production of subsistence crops and local trade. The Island still did not generate enough revenues to cover the costs of administration and defense, therefore, the administrative, military-ecclesiatical structure remained dependent on the Mexican situado. In years when the situado did not arrive there would rise a clamor form the government bureaucrats and soldiers whose salaries were not paid.

THE REFORM PERIOD 1750-1815: SOCIAL, POLITICAL & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC & MILITARY REFORMS

Administrative, Economic & Military Reforms

In contrast to the 17th century, Spain enjoyed more economic and national prosperity in the 18th century. The Spanish Crown, after the War of the Spanish Succession, remained in Bourbon hands until the establishment of the Spanish Republic in 1931.

Under Phillip of Anjou, a series of administrative, military and economic reforms were set in motion to bring Spain back to the power and glory it had enjoyed in the 16th century. These reforms depended on a strong army and navy. The Bourbon policy toward its American colonies was designed primarily to generate economic growth in the colonies and to stimulate commerce between the mother country and its colonies. This in turn would hopefully increase the amount of revenues collected and needed to finance all the military and naval adventures that would bring the Spanish Crown back in power in Europe. To this end, the Spanish Kings and their ministers introduced a series of administrative changes in the colonial structure designed to bring the New World colonies under greater royal exploitation and control. The economic reforms were designed to increase mining output (more misery and toil for the Indians of Mexico and Peru), agricultural output (more Blacks to be enslaved and more oppression for the criollos), and trade between the colonies and Spain. Tax reforms were implemented to squeeze more revenues out of the colonists, and military reforms were put into effect to make sure that the tax reforms took place and that the colonists did not revolt. The Crown was also concerned with keeping the Spanish colonies out of the reach of the French and English.

As a result of these reforms, the Spanish colonies were, for the most part, better defended, better administered, and generally more prosperous than they had ever been in the past. In their zeal to hold on to the Island and have it pay for its own maintenance and administrative capabilities who had already proven to be dedicated and capable of governing the Island better than their predecessors.

As Puerto Rico was the gateway to the Caribbean and the New World, control of the Island was vital to the Spanish commercial system. As with their 16th and 17th century predecessors, governors set about strengthening the Island's defenses since it served as an excellent base to harass the newly developing trade and commercial system of England in the West Indies (Jamaica). England in the 18th century was to prove a formidable military and economic adversary to the Spanish Crown. It is not surprising then that England tried, although unsuccessfully, to wrest control of the Island from Spain.

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS

Agricultural Reforms

The representatives of the Bourbon kings in Puerto Rico not only set about strengthening the defenses of the Island but also undertook a series of reforms to boost agriculture. Cattle grazing lands were converted into sugar fields, because hides had declined in export demand by the early 18th century. Cattlemen who were unwilling to be driven out were forced to fence in their cattle so that more land could be taken over the agricultural development.

Sugar had proven to be a viable export item in the past and specifically in the first half of the 18th century, it was the staple crop to receive the most royal attention. Tax reforms were modified to allow for the importation of new and better machinery needed to run the sugar mills. Experts from the Canary Island as well as the French West Indies were encouraged to settle on the Island. Efforts were made to improve communications through better roads between the sugar producing areas and the coastal ports of San Juan and Ponce.

Coffee, which had been introduced from the French West Indies in 1726, began to grow in economic importance. It was responsible for the internal migration of colonists from the coastal plains (sugar producing) to the interior of the Cordillera Central (a chain of gently sloping mountains running the length of the Island). Both the climate and soil of these regions was conducive to coffee growing, and soon the terrain was dotted by small family-run farms. All these efforts to better the economic conditions were for the benefit of the Crown. The welfare of the colonists was not really considered. There was still a great deal of disease, illiteracy, poor living conditions, and bad communications between the capital and the countryside. The question of the abolition of slavery was never brought up in any of these reforms. With sugar growing in agricultural importance, the slave trade spread, and more blacks were imported to toil in abject misery and abuse in the fields of the coastal plains.

Slaves constituted the major bulk of the labor force; however, they were not the only working force at this time. By the middle of the 18th century, non-slave labor (black, white, and mulatto) assumed a prominent place on the economic ladder. Many ranches, sugar plantations, and coffee farms had more free laborers than slaves. These laborers posed a major problem for the landowners, since they only worked in season or would often migrate to the interior and set up their own small farms. The landowners soon began to complain to the administrative authorities in San Juan, and, in the first decades of the 19th century, government regulations were established to curtail the movement of these laborers and tie them to the coffee, sugar, and tobacco estates as serfs.

In order to stop the illegal contraband trade between the Islanders and the English, French and Dutch traders, the royal agents in Puerto Rico reduced some of the restrictions of Island trade with other colonies and some of the export taxes. To insure this took place, the Crown created the Compania Real de Barcelona, a trading company that was given special privileges to import new machinery and methods to increase agricultural outputs for both Puerto Rico and Hispanola.

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS

The efforts made by the Spanish authorities to boost the economy of Puerto Rico in the first half of the 18th century were not particularly impressive. Agricultural growth was still slow to start as was commerce with Spain and sister colonies. The trading company participated in the lucrative contraband trade and was soon disbanded. The loss of the company, and Spain's insistence that the Island trade only with the mother country and its sister colonies had the effect of keeping the Island poor, backwards, and sparsely populated. In turn, this deprived the Island of being able to pay for its own defense and administration.

REFORMS BY O'REILLY

Economic & Military Reforms of O'Reilly

In 1765, the Spanish Crown sent Field Marshall Alejandro O'Reilly, a hard-headed, no-nonsense Irishman, to report on the status of the Island. As the representative of the King, he had the power to recommend economic and military reforms in accordance with his observations of the situation. He observed that in spite of the efforts of past governors to fortify the port of San Juan, the Island's fortifications were badly in need of repair, the artillery was old, and the Spanish troops were poorly trained, badly paid, and demoralized. He found that the Island was the poorest in America, characterized by the lack of roads, schools, and poor sanitation facilities. Economically, the Island was hampered by a backward and inefficient agricultural technology, a lack of capital, a lack of agricultural experts necessary for the profitable growing of sugar. Contraband trading still fourished, and trade between the Island, Spain, and her sister colonies had not improved significantly. O'Reilly, after conducting the first Island-wide census, reported that there were 39,846 Spaniards and 5,037 slaves. The latter figure included criollos (Island-born whites) and mulattos. This figure can be misleading since a great deal of intermarriage had taken place, and many of those counted as white criollos were probably very light skinned offspring of the Spaniards and their mulatto concubines. It is interesting to note how a non-Spaniard looked at this natural process. Field Marshall O'Reilly observed that white Spainards and criollos mixed with blacks and mulattos with no hostile or "repugnant" feelings.

To insure the continued domination of the Island by Spain, O'Reilly recommended that the Island's fortification undergo immediate repair and expansion, and that the garrison at San Juan be expanded, better trained, disciplined, and better equipped to handle a foreign attack. He suggested that immigration from Spain and her other possessions be encouraged to stimulate economic growth and that state lands be made available to those immigrants who settled permanently on the Island. He also recommended the breaking down of tariffs, taxes and other trade restrictions to encourage the Island's traders and to boost their exportation of goods to Spain and her possessions. To facilitate communications, he suggested that internal roads be built so that goods could reach the major ports faster and more efficiently. He recognized the importance of sugar as a crop and recommended that new and better methods of cultivation be introduced and that cattle grazing be curtailed to allow for more land to be devoted to sugar. He also saw the need for better educational facilities.

After the departure of O'Reilly, the recommendations for the improvement of the defenses of the Island were implemented, and by the end of the century, the Island was better defended than it had ever been in the past. In 1796, the defenses were put to the test when England and Spain went to war, and an English expedition of 10,000 troops landed near the east coast of San Juan. They were not able to take the capital since they were met with fierce determination from both the Spanish troops and the local militia. The colonial populace also resisted the attack by the foreigners, and, after several futile attempts, the English sailed away. It was the last time the English tried to possess the Island.

POPULATION EXPANSION

Population Expansion

There seemed to be a growing improvement of the Island's economy and an unprecedented expansion in agriculture, centered around sugar. In 1765, the authorities began attracting Catholic immigrants to the Island. To do this, incentives such as free state lands and government assistance in running these lands were made available. As a result of this wave of immigrants, the population of Puerto Rico grew from 44,883 in 1765 to 155,000 in 1800. Mayaguez was one of these towns offering incentives to immigrants, and by 1800 it had become one of the most important ports of call on the Island.

By creating a larger population, the Crown indirectly stimulated a greater demand for manufactured commodities, thereby increasing the flow of imports and exports. The growing population also increased the labor pool which, in turn, increased the output of coffee, sugar and tobacco. In order to further facilitate the internal and external commercial transactions, paper money was introduced in 1779. Several taxes were lowered and the few remaining trade restrictions were removed (although the Crown still insisted that trade take place only between the Island, the mother country and its colonial possessions). As in the past, the emphasis in Puerto Rico was to increase the agricultural output of the Island and its trading with Spain. Industrial developments, except for the manufacture of rum in the sugar mills, was discouraged. Like most colonial powers, Spain was interested in preventing the development of industries that might compete with her own products. As a consequence of this mercantilism, very few industries had been developed in Puerto Rico by the end of the 18th century. Many artisans produced local handicrafts, but the bulk of manufactured products came from Spain who in turn imported these commodities from England and France. (Spain had not begun to develop her industries as had the other powers.) In the long run, this lack of industry led to the downfall of the Spanish Empire, and even in the 20th century Spain has not recovered from this lack of industry.

During the 1790's, Puerto Rico's population expanded rapidly, and trade and agriculture increased. This growth was augmented by the developments in Europe (the French Revolution, 1789) and the revolt of the black slaves in the French sector of Hispanola (St. Dominique). In 1791, the slaves rebelled against the brutality, degradation, and inhumane treatment received at the hands of the white French colonials. The revolution had the dual effect of destroying the sugar industry on that island while increasing the export possibilities for Puerto Rico. French colonials not killed in the blood bath migrated to Puerto Rico, and became permanent settlers, and were helped by the Spanish authorities to cultivate the land. They brought better and more advanced methods of land cultivation and sugar processing. They also contributed to the culture of Puerto Rico by introducing variations on French culture. It is interesting to notice that most of these colonials settled in the City of Ponce, a predominately Black township. It is argued by some historians that the French influence can be seen in the development of African music called the *bomba* and the *plena*. This is quite plausible since these two music and dance forms had their origins in the city of Ponce.

These immigrants swelled the ranks of the conservative country bourgeoisie. This conservatism was further amplified by the tales of horror of slave revolts and revolutions of the criollo masses in Latin America. These newly arrived colonials and the Latin Americans fleeing revolutions in Venezuela and Columbia collaborated with the Spanish authorities to put down any thought the slaves or criollos had of rebelling against the status quo. Fear of slave revolts and the presence of large groups of political refugees from Latin America kept the emergence of the independence movement in Puerto Rico in check. This was combined with the increase of Spanish troops on the Island. Spanish military personnel became more noticeable as soldiers fled the revolutions on the mainland colonies.

INCREASED
TRADE &
COMMERCE

Increased Trade & Commerce

The growth of the sugar industry in the 1790's was short lived because events in Europe again played their role in the New World colonies. Since the Spanish Crown was related to the French Bourbon line, Spain went to war against France in 1792; when the king of France was executed by the revolutionary forces in the French Revolution, Spain was ill-prepared for the war and soon pleaded for peace. By the treaties in 1795 and 1796 Spain had become virtually under the sphere of influence of the French government. Subsequent to this event, France and her ally, Spain, declared war on England. English sea power not only disrupted Spanish commercial interest in Europe but almost severed Spanish commerce with its American colonies. In order to alleviate the economic crisis that this created for Puerto Rico and the other Latin American colonies, Spain allowed the colonies to trade with neutral powers. This decree was of benefit to a newly independent country. . . the United States. The United States now sailed into many Spanish ports of call, chief among these being San Juan, Puerto Rico. After 1797, the frequent trade between these two was in evidence by the American ships in practically every port of call in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico exported sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, and tobacco to the U.S. The United States exported wheat, pork products and a variety of manufactured goods to the Island. This pattern of trade was later repeated after the invasion of Puerto Rico by the United States.

The Spanish government became concerned that the increased trade between Puerto Rico and the United States would cost them badly needed trading monies, and revoked the trading decree. However, the Spanish could not enforce the decree, and the two countries continued to trade to the extent even the colonial authorities participated in the illegal activities. After a few years, Spain concluded that it could neither collect taxes on illegal trading nor halt this traffic, so she decided to revoke the ban, and in 1804, Spain once again opened its colonial ports to the ship of neutral powers. By the end of the 19th century, the United States became one of Puerto Rico's chief trading partners. During the last decade of the 18th century, the population of Puerto Rico had soared to 150,000 people, with significant numbers settling in the Cordillera Central. Towns were mushrooming as the people spread across the flat plains around the eastern and northern coasts. Ponce and Mayaguez expanded and became centers of trade and commerce. San German acquired a population close to 1,000, and town life became more cosmopolitan. The isolation of the cities and the rural areas began to disappear as more traders and merchants traveled the interior bringing with them news of the happenings of the outside world. The commerce of the Island increased as the population began to demand more manufactured goods. The agricultural sector also experienced unprecendented expansion due to the growing needs of the population to trade food and raw materials with the outside world. The most important exports were predictably sugar, coffee, and cotton, in that order. These products left the chief ports of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez, where the distribution of imported commodities also took place. These cities became the economic centers of the Island's commercial enterprises. The revenues from commerce and the Island's agricultural community were expanding at a high rate. For the first time it seemed the Island would be able to support its army and its administrative branches of government. This was a real, pressing need, for the Mexican situado was to end as of 1810.

SEEDS OF
DISSENT

The Seeds of Dissent

During the course of the 18th century, important developments had taken place that were to push the Island toward more progress and change. However, these changes were still overshadowed by the oppression of the Spanish civil authorities in San Juan. Even though the population had grown and more people now lived in the interior, the Island as a whole was still sparsely populated, and the population was still concentrated on the coastal plains. Although communications had improved with merchants traveling the interior of the Island, there were still no true roads at the end of the century. Education still lagged behind the times and although the sons of elite went to Europe for an education, the majority of the Islanders were illiterate (over 90%). The colony had few schools and no university of its own. Health facilities in the town were primitive and nonexistent in the rural areas.

The economic expansion in the second half of the 18th century had been concentrated among a small minority of land owners and merchants, and the population in general still remained the "poorest in America." Replacement of outmoded and broken agricultural machinery was so slow that the economy remained backwards and technologically underdeveloped. The trading that did go on was virtually isolated from the main trading routes of the world and concentrated on Spain and the United States. The boom to sugar industries in the early part of the 18th century was hindered by a shortage of available capital. The industry remained primitive compared to its competitors in the French and English colonies in the Caribbean. Spain's insistence that trading take place between the colony and its mother country, her policy of discouraging industrialization of some of the industries on the Island, and her greed for colonial revenues, all had the effect of minimizing whatever progress was made.

The administrative, military, and ecclesiastical elite still held the Island in a stifling colonial grip. The general populace was illiterate and too busy surviving from day to day to develop any interest in the government. The landed bourgeoisie, which had gained economic power as the century drew to a close, began to resent the government's policies that kept them from participating in decision-making. Although no cohesive political part existed to voice these objections, the Islanders began to resent the presence of the Spanish military oppressors and began, as early as 1782, to refer to the Spaniards as "gente de la otra banda" ("men of the other band"). These people still did not consider themselves Puerto Ricans, but the seeds of dissent were sown, and political developments in Latin America, Europe and the United States would flower in the coming century.

THE 19TH CENTURY IN PUERTO RICO

INTRODUCTION

With the ending of the Mexican situado, Puerto Rico found itself poorer than fifty years before. Over 70 percent of the Islanders were illiterate. The elite classes, although schooled and literate, were by no means educated. Those desiring education had to go to the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, or Spain. In health care and sanitation very little had changed during the course of the 19th century, although more doctors were to be found on the Island. The majority of the masses, both slave and free, had to depend on the curanderos (local herbalist, who incorporated Catholic religious practices with liberal doses of African and Indian folk medicine). The average life span of the Islanders at the end of the century was about 35 years.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Agricultural Developments

The agricultural and commercial reforms during the latter half of the 18th century continued to aid the expansion of commercial agriculture. Other factors such as a natural population growth, immigration of families who brought capital and agricultural technology with them, and the abolition of restricting trade laws all had the effect of expanding the commercial agriculture of the Island.

From the beginning of Puerto Rico's agricultural industry in the early 16th century, the most important commercial crop for export was sugar. The destruction of more advanced and flourishing sugar economy of St. Dominique in 1790, the trade reforms in the latter part of the 18th century, and the introduction of more efficient centrales (sugar mills), all promoted the export of sugar from Puerto Rico. From 1830 to 1896, the amount of acreage devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane rose nearly 300 percent.

To increase economic profit, the sugar mills began to systematically acquire large tracks of land to raise sugar cane. This concentration and amalgamation of sugar cane land gained tremendous momentum with the occupation of the Island by American military forces in 1898. Although sugar was the most valuable crop of the Island, by the end of the 19th century, coffee had taken the limelight from sugar. The introduction of hulling machinery and the flow of Spanish capital raised the acreage devoted to coffee almost 600 percent from 1830 to 1896. By 1890, coffee had become Puerto Rico's main export item. As with sugar cane, more and more coffee lands were concentrated in a few hands and small land owners were bought out by the capitalized large coffee plantations.

In addition to these two staple crops, Puerto Rican tobacco production grew during the 19th century. While the export of tobacco remained limited, it did stimulate some native industries to develop. Just as sugar had stimulated the manufacture of rum, the tobacco crop stimulated the devevelopment of the cigar industry in the metropolitan centers.

Throughout the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule, the amount of acreage devoted to subsistence crops (bananas, rice, and peas) underwent very little change. Even after the growth of sugar, coffee, and tobacco production (after dinner products), the emphasis was still on subsistence farming. However, by the second half of the 19th century, the rapid escalation of commercial agriculture put the pressure on farmers to devote more land to cash crops for export and to reduce the amount of acreage devoted to subsistence farming. By 1890, the amount of land devoted to commercial crops exceeded that devoted to subsistence crops (41 percent to coffee, 15 percent to sugar, 1 percent to tobacco, and 32 percent to subsistence crops).

Economic Developments

In the last years of the Spanish rule, the Island began to move away from subsistence crops, began to import manufactured food stuffs and became increasingly dependent on overseas trade. At the end of the century, about 60 percent of the goods imported into the Island were manufactured commodities such as cotton, fabrics, furniture, leather products (which had once been an export item), iron, steel goods, machinery, and soap. The remaining 40 percent were imports such as rice, wheat, flour and pork products. Most of these imports were supplied by the United States. By the time the American armed forces invaded the Island in 1898, the economy was dependent on outside sources for goods. This economic pattern was identical to that of colonies dependent on an economically advanced power for goods and services (in this case, the United States).

POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENTS

Political Developments

After Napoleon deposed King Fernando VII in 1808, Puerto Rico was given more civil liberties than it had ever had before. Unwilling to accept Napoleon's brother as their King, the Spanish provinces rebelled and organized a junta to rule in the name of the King, thus giving rise to the Spanish Cortes. The Cortes requested that the colonies elect a committee of representatives to go to Spain to help draft a new constitution. Puerto Rico sent Ramon Power y Giralt, a criollo, whose extensive education and travel abroad made him the Island's best hope to introduce reforms benefical to the welfare of the country.

The growing schisms between criollos and Spaniards was beginning to be felt in the Island. Spain tried to recruit criollo militiamen to fight the rebels in Venezuela, but instead, they resisted. The Spanish were informed that, "This people, although docile enough to obey authority, will never permit one single American to be taken off to fight against his brothers in Caracas." This simple note points to the growing politization of the petit bourgeoise and some of the landowners who had their headquarters in San Juan.

Although no official political parties existed on the Island at this time, there were three distinct philosophical groups: 1) the conservatives, who were c llaborators with the Spanish oppressors and whose livelihood depended on the presence of the military; 2) the liberals, who demanded reform and more autonomy but still wished to remain part of the Spanish Empire; and 3) the separatists, who were, for the most part, non-white criollos, often militant abolitionists, who demanded absolute separation from Spain.

Spain reacted to the developments in Mexico and Venezuela by instituting in 1812, a more liberal constitution with limited reforms for Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans were no longer colonial citizens but were full fledged Spanish citizens. Machinery and tools were declared tariff free. Newly arrived colonists (mostly from the Canary Islands) and native farmers were given free seeds to plant. The Island's first non-government newspaper, El Diario Economico, was founded. That year the government's revenues tripled.

With the death of Ramon Power y Giralt in Cadiz in 1813 and the return of King Fernando VII (After Napoleon abandoned Spain), the liberal constitution of 1812 was revoked and absolutist colonial rule was restored. In 1815, Spain, fearing that Puerto Rico would follow in the footsteps of here sister colonies in Latin America, granted Puerto Rico Cedula de Gracia in 1815. Briefly, it tried to improve the economy by: 1) offering new immigrants six acres of land per family member and three acres for every slave; 2) awarding citizenship after five years of residence; 3) allowing free maritime trading with Spain and other neutral powers; and 4) abolishing the tariff on tools from Spain.

By this time Puerto Rico was a true melting pot of nationalities, races, and languages. There were mestizos (decendents of original conquistadores and the Taino women), Spaniards, mulattos (descendents of black slave women and Spanish males), Canary Islanders Basques, Catalonians, Dominicans, French Haitians, French colonials from Louisiana, Corsicans, Irishmen, Venezuelans, Germans, Dutch, and African slaves. Within these groups were different social castes: nobles (from Spain and France), priests, thieves, merchants, planters, jibaros, religious heretics, segundones from Spain (the second sons of nobility, who inherited nothing at the death of the father and came to the Caribbean to make their fortunes), and a large number of soldiers.

SEPARATIST-
ABOLITIONIST
MOVEMENT

The Beginning of the Separatist-Abolitionist Movement

The first decades of the 19th century were ones of revolution and political upheavals, both in Spain and the New World. Puerto Rico, which had been isolated from the currents of history, began to change and move into the mainstream of Western culture. Puerto Rico's cultural expression in the fine arts, literature, and music began to develop. Political parties were established officially for the first time. Their formation was primarily due to two major trends: first, a fast growing population (which grew from 15,000 to almost 1 million by 1900) and, second, the reformists' clamoring for more civil and political rights and total separation of the Island from Spain.

In 1820, a revolution took place in Spain that forced Fernando VII to restore the Constitution in 1812. Puerto Rican separatists tried to stage a rebellion on the Island. The Spanish were informed of the plot and the leaders were taken to San Juan and shot. The small invading force was held up on Curacao, and the revolution was lost. Fernando VII came back to power and again revoked the 1812 constitution which made Puerto Rico a colony again.

At the same time, the United States was convinced that the Spanish Crown would attempt to regain its lost New World empire and passed the Monroe Doctrine, declaring the Americas closed to any future colonization by any European powers.

REIGN OF TERROR

The Reign of Terror: The Little Ceasars

In 1823, with the support of Cuba, Jose Maria Quinones, the Island's deputy to Spain, presented a bill to the Cortes requesting more autonomy for the Antillean colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Madrid reacted by subjecting the colony to 42 consecutive years of military governors, who for the most part were inefficient, brutal, ill-equipped for running the Island's administrative functions, and political refugees of the Latin American revolutions.

They assumed absolute authority and abolished all civil liberties. When Fernando VII died in 1833, he left his infant daughter as heir, with Maria Christina de Bourbon as Regent. The Queen Regent allowed for Puerto Rico to send representatives to the Spanish Cortes. However, when they arrived in Madrid, their requests fell on deaf ears. In 1835, liberals in Spain overthrew the Crown and reinstated the 1812 Constitution. The Constitution, however did not apply to Puerto Rico and Cuba; they were ruled by a special set of laws.

All these political changes in Spain had very little effect on the general Puerto Rican population and less on those unfortunate blacks who were still slaves in the cane fields, the coffee farms and tobacco plantations. In the 19th century the Island's agriculture was more and more concentrated in the production of these "after-dinner" products. These particular items all required large amounts of cheap labor, and this created a greater demand for Blacks to be imported from Africa. Between 1775 and 1865, the number of black slaves in Puerto Rico increased from 6,467 to about 41,000. As in the earlier centuries, these slaves did not accept their status passively. Whenever possible, there were individual and group attacks on white masters. Slaves ran away to the mountains interior, and there were many slave conspiracies. However, because the total number of slaves was small compared to the total white population, and because slave rebellions were usually local in nature, there were never the bloody revolts such as those of Haiti and Martinique.

The arrival of Marshall Juan Prim, Count de Reus, in Puerto Rico coincided with a slave uprising in Martinique. This led the Count, who already despised blacks, to quell any thought of rebellion in Puerto Rico by passing the Bando Negro Contra la Raza Negra (Black Edict). The Bando was an extremely repressive document that proclaimed the following:

1. Any black who attacked a White would be executed.
2 Any black who attacked a free black would lose his right hand.
3. Any black who insulted a white would receive five years in prison.
4. Any blacks caught stealing would receive two-hundred lashes and a fine.

5. Two blacks caught fighting would receive twenty-five lashes and fifteen days in prison.
6. A slave who rebelled could be killed immediately by his master as an example to other slaves.

Slavery, as in the case of many of the sugar producing Antillian islands, was linked to the production of sugar; but, unlike some of these countries, the black slave population in Puerto Rico during the 19th century remained a small percentage of the total population on the Island. This has no parallel in any of the other Caribbean islands where black slaves usually outnumbered whites and free "coloreds

Several factors explain this lack of growth in the slave population in Puerto Rico. Health conditions on the Island were never the best and blacks did not receive the best care, living quarters, or a balanced diet. They were often overworked and were physically and psychologically abused. It is not surprising that many would die or that the reproductive rate was low and infant mortality high. Because of the poverty and impoverishment of the Island as a whole, many Puerto Rican landowners did not possess the necessary capital to purchase large numbers of slaves. Furthermore, in the first half of the 19th century, limited and then abolished the slave trade in Puerto Rico. Although slaves continued to be imported illegally, their number remained small as the free population began to increase. The rate of intermarriage between blacks, whites and mulattos was prevalent in Puerto Rican history from the beginning of the importation of Blacks, so that many children of these unions were freed by their Spanish fathers, adding to the total free population.

The large free peasant population, (black, mulatto and poor white), who in the course of the 19th century out-numbered the slave population, was seen by the Spanish landowners as a potential labor force. These peasants did not own land but settled in the lands of the *hacendados* and worked part of the year as payment for rent. Most, however, raised subsistence crops, a few chickens and cattle, and did not work for the landowners for long periods of time. With the limitations placed on the importation of new slaves and the growing labor need in the expanding agricultural sector, the landowners began to clamor for laws that would force peasants to be tied to the land that they worked - in essence, semi-serfdom.

Their chance came in 1837 when Lieutenant General Juan de Pezuelas was replaced as governor. He enforced the *Bando de Policia y Buen Govierno* which compelled the landless, unemployed peasantry to work on local plantations and farms. Some years later, the *libretas reglamentarias* were introduced. This passbook, similar to the one used in South Africa today, contained such information as where a peasant worked, his salary, and the date of his last employment. Peasants could not change their place of employment if they did not have this passbook officially stamped by the authorities. Anyone caught without this book was subject to eight days of labor at half pay. Repeated offenses were punishable by six months imprisonment. This curtailed the movement of free white peasants from place to place and forced them to labor in the fields alongside the Black slaves. They were often subjected to the same abuse and bigotry by the landed Spanish and Puerto Rican elite. In the long run this had the effect of solidifying the national consciousness of the masses of poor Puerto Rican white peasants and the non-white slave and mulatto classes. They began to see themselves as Puerto Ricans (regardless of color) and not as Spaniards.

The Governor also banned regular citizens from travelling from city to city without official permission. This passbook law existed for 19 years.

A NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Birth of the Puerto Rican National Consciousness

In spite of this oppression, the Puerto Rican national consciousness did come into being. It was inspired by a man who was to become known as "The Father of the Puerto Rican Nation." His name was Ramon Emeterio Betances. He had been born in Cabo Rojo in 1827, son of a Spanish father and a black woman. A graduate from the medical school at the University of Paris, he was well known and respected both in the Caribbean and in Europe. He dedicated his life to the freeing of Puerto Rico from the Spanish colonial yoke and to the abolition of slavery. He went from town to town paying the baptismal price of black slave children so that they could be free. In 1862, because of his support for the Dominican rebellion and his calling for a similar development in Puerto Rico, he was brought to El Morro to be hanged, but his influence on the Island and abroad was too great, and he was exiled to St. Thomas. Here he proclaimed "The Ten Commandments of Liberty," demanding the abolition of slavery and the granting of more civil and political rights for the Island of Puerto Rico.

In 1865, as Cuba's revolutionary fervor grew, Spain requested that a committee be sent to the Cortes to draft a "Special Law of the Indies." The committee's request for the abolition of slavery and the institution of a commonwealth government was ignored by the Cortes, as were the requests for the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Meanwhile on the Island, there was a local rebellion of artillerymen who were incited by the separatists. Governor Jose Maria Marchessi reacted immediately by exiling several of the leaders of the movement and by demanding that Emeterio Betances and others report to San Juan to be sent to Madrid. They ignored the order and departed first for Santo Domingo, and then for New York, where they established a coalition of Cuban and Puerto Rican separatists.

EL GRITO DE LARES

El Grito de Lares

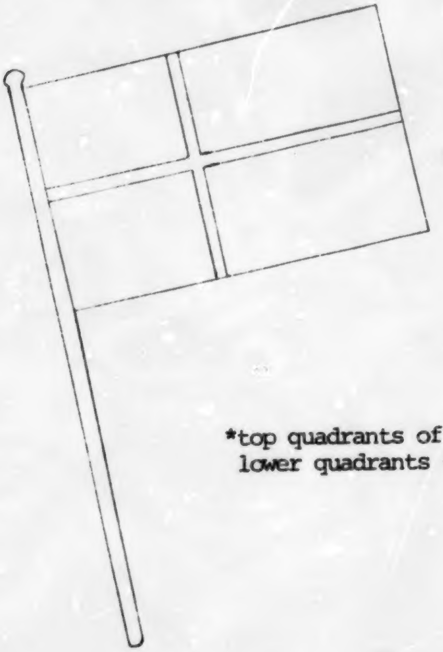
All of these preparations and movements led to one of the most important events in Puerto Rican history. On the night of September 23, 1868, 100 to 1,000 rebels held a mass gathering in the township of Lares. A new white flag was unveiled with the words "Liberty or Death. Long live Free Puerto Rico. Year 1868." They marched on the town and took it without any bloodshed. That morning the Puerto Rican Republic was born. A national anthem, La Borinquena, was written, a constitution was drafted and a call to arms was issued demanding the abolition of slavery and separatism from Spain.

Unfortunately, news leaked out to the Spanish garrison in San Juan and a shipment of arms which Emeterio Betances had purchased was held up in the port of Santo Domingo. The revolutionaries were arrested and put to death. The revolution was lost but the declaration of the Puerto Rican people as a nation was established once and for all. The die had been cast, and the people were no longer colonials of Spain, mulattos, blacks, French or jibaros; they were Puerto Ricans!

Between 1871 and 1874, the struggle between the liberals and the conservative Puerto Rican nationals continued. As of March 27, 1873, slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico and Cuba. Total abolition, however, was not immediate. The freed slaves had to work for their masters for three more years, and after five years they would receive full civil rights. That same year the passbook laws were revoked; but in the next two years, other civil liberties were revoked.

In 1887 as Liberal leaders gathered in Ponce to sign a declaration calling for more self government for the Island, the governor instituted practices that were to mark 1887 "the year of terror." The civil guard arrested and bludgeoned to death several hundred suspected separatists. The governor was finally removed from office because the Crown feared this would lead to open rebellion on the Island.

EL GRITO DE LARES FLAG*



*top quadrants of flag - blue
lower quadrants - red

"Viva Puerto Rico Libre, Ano 1868!"

PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

These are the original nineteenth-century words by Lola Rodriguez de Tío.

La Borinquena

Despierta, Borinqueno que han dada la senal. Despierta de ese sueno que es hora de luchar.	Awaken, Borinqueno For the signal has been given. Awaken from this sleep, For it is the hour of struggle.
A ese llamar patriotico no arde tu corazon Ven te sera simpatico el ruido del canon.	If that patriotic call Does not ignite your heart, Come! You will respond To the sound of the cannon.
Nosotros queremos la libertad Nuestro machete nos la dara.	We want Liberty - Our machete will give it to us!
Vamonos, Borinqueno Vamonos ya, que nos espera ansiosa ansiosa la libertad, la libertad, la libertad, la libertad, la libertad.	Let's go Borinqueno. Let's go now, For she awaits us eagerly, Eargerly - Liberty! Liberty - Liberty! Liberty - Liberty!

AUTONOMOUS CHARTER

The Autonomous Charter - 1897

In 1897, the Liberal Party of Spain came to power and the governor signed a royal decree allowing the Island to become a self-governing Spanish province. In essence, this was to be the first step in a peaceful separation from Spain. Under the new decree, Puerto Rico was to be the master of her own destiny, ending three-hundred years of struggle that began when the Indians and blacks resisted the institution of slavery. Their descendants now prepared themselves to take control of the land of their birth. Puerto Rico would now elect its representatives to the Spanish Cortes. It could also elect 35 members in the local House of Representatives and 8 out of the 15 members on the Insular Administrative Council (equivalent to the American Senate). The Governor General, appointed by Spain, chose the other seven senators. Puerto Rico's legislature could decide on all matters of internal economics. This included such matters as the annual budget, the tariffs, taxes, and commerical treaties involving the Island.

The new Cabinet was appointed in February 1898, and general elections were held in March. By July 1898, the government was officially functioning. Puerto Rico was on its way to total independence. However, this period of national liberty and determination was to be short lived. Storm clouds were gathering on the Caribbean horizon. A new colonial power was turning its eyes toward the newly founded republic. The American eagle, under the ideology of "Manifest Destiny," was spreading its wings, and Puerto Rico would soon enter a period of sixty years of more change than it had seen in its 300 year history.

MODULE IV - ENDNOTES

1. Map - Developed by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

2. Map - Figueroa, Loida, History of Puerto Rico. (New York: Anaya Book Company, Inc., 1974) p. 28.

3. Map - Developed by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

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MODULE V

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF PUERTO RICO

BACKGROUND

The Spanish American War

In April 1898, the United States ship, "The Maine," while docked in Cuban waters, was blown up by some mysterious (and to this day unknown) agent(s). The United States government reacted to this incident by declaring war on Spain. While the Cuban war of independence waged on in Cuba, the United States invaded Puerto Rico on July 25, 1898. The Puerto Ricans, long oppressed by the corrupt Spanish military in San Juan, gave little or no support to the Spanish forces and gave virtually no opposition (having no weapons of their own) to the new colonial invaders. On the dawn of July 25, 1898, General Nelson A. Miles landed with the first 16,000 American troops at the south coast town of Guanica (in the region of the old cacicato of Guainia, where 400 years before Juan Ponce de Leon had landed with his troops). Puerto Rico's strategic position in the Caribbean had once again placed her at the hands of foreign interests. What was once a Spanish military emporium was to become America's "Showcase of Free Enterprise." The following was the first official public statement from the United States Government explaining its plans for Puerto Rico.

> "TO THE INHABITANTS OF PUERTO RICO"
>
> In the prosecution of the war against the Kingdom of Spain, the people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the Island of Puerto Rico. They come bearing the banner of freedom, inspired by noble purpose to seek the enemies of our country and yours, and to destroy or capture those who are in armed resistance. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold. Hence, the first effect of this occupation will be the immediate release from your former political relations, and it is hoped, a cheerful acceptance of the Government of the United States. The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and to give to the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberties consistent with this military occupation. We have not come to make war against a people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people. As long as they conform to the rules of military administration, of order and justice. This is not a war of devastation, but one to give all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization." 1

It was a short war; it lasted for only 115 days, with Puerto Rico's campaign only 17 days long. There were practically no heavy American casualties (4 killed and 40 wounded, out of the 16,000 American troops). The general Puerto Rican nation was severely handicapped by four centuries of Spanish colonial rule, and many Puerto Ricans felt sure the United States would help the budding Republic to get on its feet economically and would assist in its course of self determination for which it had been struggling for the last 400 years. There was no feeling of "oppression" at the beginning, but there was concern about the United States' intentions towards the Island. Emeterio Betances, who had been one of the most vociferous and military separatists of the century, best echoed these fears when he stated: "Surely, let the Americans help us gain liberty, but not push the country into annexation. If Puerto Rico does not act fast, it will be an American colony forever."

TREATY OF PARIS

The Treaty of Paris and the Return of Colonialism

When Spain's flag was lowered at the Fortaleza on October 8, 1898, 405 years of Spanish domination came to an end. On December 19, 1898, the Treaty of Paris was signed and Spain ceded the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States as spoils of war, and Cuba as a protectorate. No member of Puerto Rico's Autonomous Government was consulted or asked to attend the proceedings in Paris. The taking over of Cuba and the Philippines was seen as impractical and militarily undesirable, since both these countries possessed large revolutionary armies and large areas of land. Puerto Rico was a different case. The Island was smaller than the other two, no revolutionary army existed, nor were the peasants informed of the happenings in San Juan. Almost 400 years of economic, military and political oppression by the Spanish colonial forces had left the Island virtually incapable of sustaining a long military struggle against the United States. As a result, the United States claimed possession of Puerto Rico as compensation for losses and expenses occasioned by the war. There was to be no self determination for the people of Puerto Rico.

The Island was in a deplorable economic, social, and political shape after 400 years of Spanish colonial economic exploitation and political repression. Puerto Rico had a small educated upper class, a tiny middle class, and a huge mass of working class poor (almost all of the 300,000 blacks, poor whites and mulattos were at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder). Of these, 13 percent were literate, and of the 300,000 school age children only 21,000 were in school. Poverty and poor living conditions were rife. Jobs, when there were any, paid as little as five cents a day for cane cutting, vegetable picking, etc. There was poor internal communication due to the scarcity of hard surfaced roads, most of which washed away in heavy tropical rains.

FORAKER ACT

The Foraker Act of 1900

As the 20th century approached, the United States faced a problem: Puerto Rico was necessary and vital to American economic, military and political interest both in the Caribbean and Latin America, but what could be done with nearly one million Spanish speaking Islanders who for the most part were poorer than people in any of the other states? For the first year, a military governor would suffice, but after that there would have to be provisions made that were both practical and acceptable to the United States. To handle this dilemma the United States Congress passed the Foraker Act of 1900. Written for the most part by Republican expansionists, it temporarily provided revenues and civil government to Puerto Rico. This bill defined the political and economic relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States and allowed the Puerto Rican elite minimal self government under the United States.

Similar to the Spanish Autonomous Charter in many respects, the Foraker Act neither reflected the desires of the Island representatives nor required the approval of the Puerto Rican people. It created a political entity called "the people of Puerto Rico", but they were neither citizens of America, nor were they citizens of an independent nation. It placed most of the authority and political control in the hands of an appointed, rather than an elected, official (who was to be invariably American).

Under both the Autonomous Charter and the Foraker Act, the colonial power (Spain, then the U.S.) appointed the governor, and the Island population elected the lower house of the legislative body. However, the composition and powers of the upper house were drastically different! All members of the new Executive Council were appointed by the American President, and the Act required that only five be Puerto Ricans. By contrast, eight of the fifteen members (a majority) of the Autonomous Charter's Council of Administration were elected by the people, and the Council acted as both a law-making body and an executive power for the Island, except in times of national emergencies. The Foraker Act's Executive Council, although serving the same capacity, was undeniably subordinate to the President's appointed governor. The United States allowed token representation of the Puerto Rican people in Washington by appointing a Resident Commissioner. He was allowed to voice the concerns of the Island's inhabitants, but was not allowed to have a vote in the House of Representatives.

Finally, the Foraker Act placed a great deal of control over the commercial and economic functions of the Island government. Although the internal government retained the right and power to draw up its own budget and approve certain appointments, it could no longer determine or negotiate tariffs or commercial treaties with foreign countries. The American governor could veto bills directly. Two-thirds of both legislative houses of Puerto Rico could overrule the governor's veto; but the United States Congress reserved the exclusive right to annul or veto any bill passed by the Puerto Rican legislature!

Special economic and commercial provisions were also made on behalf of American business interests. All foreign imports would be subjected to the same tariff laws as on the mainland, but American goods would enter Puerto Rico tarriff-free after 1904. Further curtailment of Puerto Rico's commercial interests was brought about by the Act's extension of the Coastline Shipping Act mandating all Puerto Rican trade to be shipped on American shipping lines.

Most Puerto Rican political leaders became disillusioned with the Foraker Act. The military regime both ignored and disregarded the position held by these political leaders, namely that (1) Puerto Rico had already attained self-government prior to the Spanish-American conflict; and (2) therefore, the Treaty of Paris was null and void, since Spain could not cede an autonomous state.

GROWTH OF
POLITICAL
PARTIES

The Growth of Political Parties: A Question of Status

Unwilling to accept the neo-colonial government under the Foraker Act, many Puerto Rican political leaders began to form political parties based on alternative philosophies around the problem of colonial political status. Luis Munoz Rivera, who tried to work within the established order, founded the New Federal Party. Its platform identified with the American system of government and trade with the mainland. The Republicans, led by a Black educator named Jose Celso Barbosa, opted for statehood for Puerto Rico as its platform. Both of these parties saw the advantages of working within the American colonial economic and political framework.

In 1904, the Federalists merged with a small group of Republicans, and formed the Union Party. Convinced that the United States would never grant Puerto Rico statehood, they endorsed both independence and total autonomy. In 1904, they swept the elections and remained in power for the next 20 years. Their objective was to constantly remind the colonial authorities of the status question, but the American Congress turned deaf ears to their requests. Soon hatred and resentment of the Foraker Act erupted and the Puerto Rican House of Legislature refused to approve the previous year's budget in protest. The Foraker Act was amended by the Olmstead Act, and it was decreed that the previous year's budget would be carried over, regardless of anyone's objections.

JONES-SHAFROTH ACT

The Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917

Congress, aware of the growing dissent on the Island, opened hearings on a new organic act. The final bill was to be known as the Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917. Its political and economic ramifications were crucial in the Island's struggle for self-determination. Its effect would be felt both on the mainland and on the Island. Many of the problems that are still major stumbling blocks for the Puerto Rican community on the mainland can be traced back to this single act. It was to make the situation of the Puerto Rican nation and the Puerto Rican migrants to this nation unparalleled in the history of this country or the world.

The Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917, signed by President Woodrow Wilson, proclaimed Puerto Ricans as citizens of the United States. The majority Union Party pressed for "Puerto Rican citizenship." and demanded a plebiscite to test public opinion. However, the co-author of the bill, Congressman John F. Shafroth of Colorado, felt that the issue needed to be solved immediately, and that it was an idle dream to discuss independence. The passage of the bill was not as benevolent as it may seem. World War I was looming on the horizon, German ships were patrolling the Caribbean area, and in case of war the United States wanted to retain permanent possession of the Island and turn it into a military guard zone for the Panama Canal. Of more importance was the American army's need for more soldiers in the coming struggle.

It can be said that the Jones Act was an illegal move, since the Puerto Rican populace (at that time isolated and not very well informed of the ramifications of this act) had no option but to accept American citizenship. They either became American citizens automatically, or if they refused to do so, they were required to sign a document to that effect. However, if a person refused, he could not participate in any political or civic activities in his country. Faced with this prospect many Puerto Ricans accepted the new status and continued to struggle for independence. In 1921, President Harding appointed E. Montgomery Reilly, a southerner, to govern the Island. In his inaugural address he angered and insulted many Puerto Ricans when he stated: "My friends, there is no room in this Island for any flag other than the Stars and Stripes. So long as Old Glory waves over us it will continue to wave over Puerto Rico."[2] Such arrogance and neo-colonial attitudes were to hamper relations between Puerto Rico and the United States and create a great deal of anti-American sentiment in Puerto Rican socio-political circles that has lasted to this day. Mr. Reilly further aggravated the situation by sending a letter to the leader of the Union Party (Antonio Barcelo) which flatly stated:

> "I want you to fully understand that I shall never appoint any man to any office who is an advocate of independence. When you publicly renounce independence and break loose from your pernicious and anti-American associates, then I will be glad to have your recommendations."[3]

This attitude was to be endorsed and followed by dictates from Washington, erasing any hopes for the future of the Island's independent status. Barcelo, seeing the futility of any further demands for complete independence introduced the concept of the "Estado Libre Associado" of the Free Associated State. This type of relationship was in the pattern of the Irish Free State under the British Crown. The bill came to the United States Congress but, as with much of the legislation originating in Puerto Rico, died in committee.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

Socio-Economic Change: The Sugar Monoculture and the American Domination

Even though the political question of status seemed futile to the Puerto Rican leaders, the internal socio-economic conditions of the Island were undergoing rapid change. The government constructed new roads and criss-crossed the Island with telephone and telegraph lines. Heavy emphasis and expenditures in education raised the percentage of school-age children in the Island's educational system from 8 percent in 1898 to almost 50 percent in 1930.

Many of these improvements also benefited the American businesses that were beginning to dominate the Puerto Rican economy. For example, better transportation and communications opened new areas for sugar production.

In taking over the economy of the Island, the Americans accelerated changes already begun in the last decades of Spanish colonial rule. Like the Spanish before them, the new rulers put more land into cultivation and devoted large tracts of arable land to the growing of cash crops, primarily sugar. The result was the drastic reduction of the acreage devoted to subsistence farming. Since American farm interests did not extend to coffee (cheaper in Brazil) and tobacco (cheaper in Cuba and the mainland), and some other products that would not sell in the world market (plantains, yautias, batatas, etc.), the only profitable crop was sugar.

In 1898, Puerto Rican agricultural land (nearly 3 million acres) was divided into coffee (41%) and sugar (15%) with the rest given to the other crops. By 1931, pressure from the sugar lobbyists in Washington soon reversed this ration. By juggling tarrif laws and taxes, the percentage of acreage devoted to the production of sugar went to 44 percent. Since only one crop was begin extensively grown, Puerto Rico had to trade with the United States for manufactured goods and food-stuffs. Tariffs forced Puerto Ricans to pay the same prices as American consumers for foreign goods. If American beef producers persuaded Congress to pass higher tarrifs on Argentinian beef, the Puerto Ricans had to comply and pay the higher price of the American beef. Puerto Rico was again producing that which it did not consume and consuming that which it did not produce. She had once more been forced into a dependent colonial economic system.[4]

Economic control extended to other sectors of the Puerto Rican economy besides agriculture. By 1931, 60 percent of the production of sugar was controlled by four of the largest absentee corporations (South Porto Rican Sugar Company, the Fajardo Sugar Company of Puerto Rico, Central Aguirre Associates, and the United Porto Rico Sugar Company) and the same can be said of tobacco (80% U.S. controlled), public service, banking (60%) naval lines (100%). The Coastwise Shipping Act limited 80 percent of Puerto Rico's imports and over 90 percent of its exports to four American steamship lines.[5]

In addition to these economic woes, a more crucial problem existed. Puerto Rico's landless urban and rural poor grew by leaps and bounds. With the improved health services and better living facilities, the population grew almost 60 percent from 1898 to 1931. At the same time, the unemployment rate rose from 17 percent to over 30 percent.

CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Cultural Implications

Besides the control of the Puerto Rican economic and political sectors, the United States controlled the educational system, causing mass Americanization and de-emphasis of the Hispanic culture and the Spanish language. Within a few years after the military invasion, the Island was literally invaded by American teachers intent on educating the masses of Puerto Ricans in the English language and the Horatio Alger story of American business society. English was made the language of instruction, and American teachers diligently drilled Puerto Rican students in English.

The Americanization of Puerto Rico was seen as a panacea for all its ills. As a United States Commissioner of Education put it:

> "Technical and industrial education here will give us a corps of young Puerto Ricans trained in both English and Spanish language and in our industrial and commercial methods who will be valuable pioneers in extending our trade in South America...They ought to accomplish much in extending our commerce and in gaining new markets for our manufacturers."[6]

As the elite politicans argued the question of political status and colonial monoculture, the masses of Puerto Rico remained poor. They remained politically apathetic and were relatively indifferent to the question of status since they neither saw nor understood any connection between their everyday problems and their political relationship to the United States. Many had expected that economic and social conditions would improve after the United States replaced oppressive Spain as colonial ruler. While before they worked for a Puerto Rican hacendado who might have been more benevolent, they now worked for impersonal American sugar corporations, who had little regard for the workers' rights but were more interested in profit. As they became more and more disillusioned, militant cane workers tried to unionize by striking.

THE DECADE
OF THE 30's

The Re-emergence of the Puerto Rican Nation

Conditions did not improve and the Wall Street crash in 1929 created a tidal wave of economic shock in an economically dependent Puerto Rico. These were terrible years. There was virtual starvation and political anarchy. In 1932, hurricane San Cipriano stuck the Island causing 225 deaths and leaving over 100,000 people homeless. The hard-pressed economy was further aggravated by the destruction of the sugar, coffee, and fruit harvests. By 1933, only 35 percent of the adult male population was employed.

In the 1930's, the promise of the New Deal programs was extended to Puerto Rico. In 1934, the Administration of Puerto Rican Affairs was moved to the Department of the Interior. The necessary administrative overhaul that would bring about the badly needed support programs was created. The first attempts were the establishment of the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration (PRERA) in 1934 and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA). The latter was an expanded public works program that attempted to deal with the Island's problems that were diagnosed as a depression emergency rather than as a chronic malady brought about the almost exclusive reliance on sugar as the economic mainstay of the Island. At its height, PRRA gave indirect relief to the 35 percent of the Island's population, but tens of thousands still remained unemployed and unaided. The PRRA was an open attempt at a single reconstruction plan to break the sugar monopoly and replace federal handouts with social justice and effective rehabilitation. Both continental and Island planners devised the plan known as the Chardón Plan to curtail the Island's dependence on sugar cane, absentee owners, and imported foods. Despite the President's approval, petty American administrators and American business interests reduced the plan to nothing more than a blueprint for future economic activities.

Although the governments of San Juan and Washington were attempting to introduce all these new programs, the Island's population began to agitate and demand solutions to their immediate problems. This agitation took the form of strikes against gasoline retailers, flour and wheat dealers in San Juan. To protest the planned Americanization of the schools, university students and longshoremen went on strike against the United States colonial administration. Intellectuals voiced their discontent by endorsing cultural nationalism.

LIBERAL &
NATIONALIST
PARTIES

The Liberal Party and the Nationalist Party

The political parties of Puerto Rico continued their preoccupation with the status question and the dominance of Puerto Rican economy by foreign businessmen. In 1928, both the Union-Republican Alianza and the Republican-Socialist Coalition had endorsed statehood as preferable alternatives to territorial status. In 1932, partially due to the discontent of poor and urban workers, the Alianza was reorganized into the Liberal Party with independence as its platform. Among its supporters was a young intellectual named Luis Munoz Marin.

The Liberals were not the only political party demanding independence. The Nationalist Party, founded in 1922 by Jose Coll y Cuchi, finally acquired enough signatures on the Island to place it on the Island-wide ballot in 1932. In response to congressional neglect, colonial economic exploitation, and cultural alienation, a new nationalist leader emerged from the oppressed masses calling for the immediate withdrawal of all American military and economic interests on the Island. His name was Don Pedro Albizu Campos (popularly called "El Maestro" or the Teacher). Like Munoz Marin he had been educated in the United States. But unlike Munoz he was a mulatto, not a white man. He had received a scholarship to the Harvard Law School and graduated with honors. He was to deliver the valedictorian address to his classmates but because of his color he was denied this honor. He criticized the United States' spiritual enslavement of Puerto Rico and its influence in Latin American affairs. Although concerned by the plight of his country's poor masses, he selected cultural and political independence as his primary concerns rather than a sound economic alternative to the present situation.

The party took no stance on what type of government would come after the colonial power withdrew its forces. In 1932, the voters were to have a real choice on the status issue, but the elections proved disappointing since the Republican Socialist Coalition received a majority vote. The Nationalist Party, noting that the elections were a sham, reacted by extra-electoral tactics of non-cooperation and demonstrations against the Federal and insular colonial authorities.

The insular police and federal colonial authorities reacted by political repression. For example, on Sunday morning, February 23, 1936, two young Nationalists shot and killed insular Police Chief Francis Riggs, an American. Since Puerto Rico had no death penalty, the youths were killed by the police using the pretext that they had "tried to escape."

The federal government used this incident as an excuse to further harass and repress the nationalist movement in Puerto Rico. Albizu Campos and seven of his followers were indicted on charges of sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the government. The federal requirement that all jurors be fluent in English precluded a fair representation of Puerto Ricans on the jury. When a jury was finally agreed on, after debating the verdict, they came out with a hung jury. Undeterred, the federal government selected a new, more favorable jury, and Albizu Campos was sentenced to nine years in a federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. Albizu's imprisonment did not end the struggle, and nationalist discontent and agitation continued as the economic situation worsened and reached gigantic proportions.

The Island and federal authorities' repressive measures increased and reached their peak in Ponce, on Sunday, March 21, 1937. In order to curb unrest on the Island and to show the nationalists where the power rested, the American governor Blaton Whinship revoked a permit for a peaceful independence parade only 24 hours before the parade was to start. Thousands of people were at hand, and the independists decided to hold the parade anyway. The national anthem "La Borinquena" was played, and the "forward, march" order was given. Almost immediately a shot rang out, and before the shooting was over, over a hundred people were wounded and twenty were killed, most of them civilians. Photographs and testimonies of the attending physicians confirmed that the event deserved the popular name of "The Ponce Massacre." The majority of casualties had been shot in the back and not one civilian was proven to have possessed a gun.

Although the Ponce Massacre outraged Puerto Ricans, most continued to be more concerned about hunger, jobs, and the material well being of the nation than the question of political status. In light of these events, an American Congressman, Milard Tydings, introduced a bill in Congress calling for immediate independence for Puerto Rico. The bill had the effect of throwing the Island's political parties into debates over the status question. Most Island Republicans, actively supported and backed by American corporate business interests, flatly rejected the bill. The most energetic opposition, however, came from within the Liberal Party from the independent leader Munoz Marin, who cautioned against independence, and Barcelo who argued in favor of it. The Liberal Party became hopelessly split. After heated debates, the party expelled Munoz Marin from its ranks. Consequently, in 1930, the Liberal Party lost the elections to the Republican-Sociolist Coalition.

THE
MUNOZ ERA

The Munoz Era: The Industrialization of Puerto Rico

Luis Munoz Marin, cognizant of popular desires for bettering economic conditions and the status issue, began to reorganize a party around the economic question, putting aside the issue of independence. In 1938, he organized the Popular Democratic Party (Partido Popular Democratico) with the pledge that "Status is not the issue." Many Island intellectuals believed he was still an independist and would resume the struggle upon gaining office, so they gave their support to the new party. Between 1938 and 1940 Munoz took to the countryside, adopted the broadbrimmed hat (la pava) of the peasant jibaros as a symbol of the party and the slogan "Pan Tierra Y Libertad" (Bread, Land and Liberty) and set aside the question of status. He promised the people enforcement of the 500 Acre Law, agricultural cooperatives, minimum wage legislation and homes for the landless agregados (sharecroppers).

In 1940, the Populares won their first victory but did not receive an electoral majority in the legislature. In 1944, by taking advantage of splits in the other parties and by consolidating its power, they won control of the legislature. The 1940 elections were to be a landmark in the socio-economic and political history of the Island. They signaled the beginning of tremendous changes in the Island's economy and a moderate increase in her political autonomy. In less than 30 years Puerto Rico was to undergo still more changes, and a basically agricultural society was to be transformed into modern industrialized society with all the benefits and evils inherent in such rapid, drastic change.

In order to deliver those promises made in the earlier campaigns, the Populares needed the sympathetic ear of a competent American governor who would aid and not obstruct new programs. Munoz Marin appealed to President Roosevelt to appoint such a person rather than the traditional political appointee. President Roosevelt responded by naming Guy Rexford Tugwell as governor in the fall of 1941.

Tugwell was a Columbia University economics professor, who had participated in Roosevelt's New Deal programs. He had visited Puerto Rico twice and was well aware of the agricultural dependence of the country. As governor his major concerns were to forge a bond of mutual cooperation between government and private business, with government as the senior partner in order to spread the benefits of capitalist society through a bureaucracy that was efficient, powerful, and reasonably honest.

PARTIDO
POPULAR
DEMOCRATICO

Partido Popular Democratico (PPD)

The PPD began with a series of agricultural reforms that included enforcing the 500 Acre Act to improve the lot of the rural, landless agregados. Its most creative feature was the creation of proportional-profit farms that were government owned and operated as large scale communal farms. They were worked by the landless agregados with profits divided equally at the end of the harvest. The Land Authority was given the power to buy land and hire competent managers to handle profit distribution. By 1948, proportional-profit farms were fully functioning. Another feature of the Land Act was the creation of new rural communities for the landless agregados. This was done by giving each agregado and his family a three-acre plot (parcelas) of land to do with as he wished. To prevent loss through debt, the title to the land was held by the government.

Tugwell and Munoz Marin agreed that agriculture had reached the saturation point and that further diversification would be unproductive and repetitive. They began, at this point, to turn to industrialization as an alternative to development of new employment opportunities and a solid base for economic growth.

Between 1942 and 1947, Tugwell realized that the economy was too fragile to support uncontrolled capitalist industrial development and public ownership of new industries was the rule. The Industrial Development Company, popularly known as Fomento, established factories to manufacture bottles, cardboard boxes, structural tiles, bricks, sewer pipes and various other manufactured commodities. The Puerto Rico Cement Company was revamped and taken over from PRRA. In an effort to promote tourism, Fomento built the Island's first luxury hotel, the present day Caribe Hilton. All these activities were to be under the direction of the Economic Development Administration (EDA). Eventually, all these industries would be North American owned or controlled with Puerto Rican management and laborers. After five years, the government decided that the programs were only marginally successful. Under the auspices of Fomento over 2000 new jobs were created, but an increase in population meant that 200,000 more openings were needed. Investments generated over $4 million dollars, but another billion dollars was needed by the hard pressed economy. Munoz Marin insisted that the program would eventually attract private investment to the Island without subjecting it to uncontrolled capitalist expansion and controls. Controls were to be on wage levels and worker organizations. Wages were kept well below the mainland rates, and the closed-shop was banned except in local commerce and selected interstate industries.

The Industrial Incentive Act of 1947 outlined the benefits for businessmen who established industries in Puerto Rico. They included:

1. 10 to 17 years exemption from Island taxes for any corporation that built a plant for a new industry.

2. minimal control over use of capital after a plant was constructed.

3. freedom to remove profits from the Island, instead of reinvesting them back into the Puerto Rican economy.

4. recruitment and training of workers, and prefabricated factories sold or rented on liberal terms.

5. selling of Fomento's public industries to the private sector.

6. free technical advice and assistance.

OPERATION
BOOTSTRAP

Operation Bootstrap, the Failure of the "Showcase for Free Enterprise"

American investors expecting to quadruple their mainland profit levels poured into the Island during the 1950's. After selling its public industries to private corporations, Fomento devoted its effort to a development program popularly called "Operation Bootstrap." The prime focus of the program was an extensive mainland advertising campaign to alert American corporate business to the advantages in doing business in Puerto Rico. Operation Bootstrap administered a program called Aid to Industrial Development to recruit and train prospective employees and build factories for the incoming businesses.

Politically, the Islanders were still in limbo. Agitation had momentarily ceased since there were jobs, and the peasantry had a larger share of the benefits of industrialization of the Island's resources. Although Munzo Marin had declared that status is not an issue, under pressure from independence supporters from within and without the party, he lobbied in Washington for more Island control and autonomy. When Tugwell resigned his governorship in 1947, Harry S. Truman who, along with Tugwell, was in favor of having a Puerto Rican governor for the Island, made Jesus T. Pinero the Island's first Puerto Rican born governor. Pinero, however, had been appointed and not popularly elected. It was a year later before the Elective Governor Act of 1947 was passed and Munoz Marin became the Island's first Puerto Rican born governor elected by the people. Still under pressure to resolve the status question, he revived a proposal from the 1920's for commonwealth status, arguing that the Island needed more self government with some political and economic ties to the mainland American Government.

This proposal aroused nationalist fears of permanent colonial domination by harassing the Nationalists with Law 53, an anti-free-speech bill passed in 1947. This law was used as an instrument of political repression by the Island's colonial authorities. During and after 1948, thousands were detained for vaguely defined "seditious" activities. The culmination point of this repression came in 1950, when Congress passed Law 600, authorizing a special referendum on the drawing up of the Commonwealth Constitution. Political agitation and violent acts foiled this resolution. The ballot only asked for a "yes" or "no" vote for the adoption or rejection of the law. No mention was made of statehood or independence. On October 28, 1950, there were Nationalist inspired riots in the prison in Rio Piedras. Two days later, four nationalists attacked the governor's mansion in San Juan, and there were uprisings in the towns of Jayuya, Utuado, Arecibo, Ponce and Mayaguez.

On November 1st, Nationalists attacked the Blair House in Washington, the temporary home of President Truman. The entire leadership of the Nationalist Party and members of the PIP were arrested. Albizu Campos was given a 79-year sentence under Law 53 but Munoz Marin pardoned him in 1953. In March 1954, Nationalists entered the United States House of Representatives and opened fire, wounding five Congressmen. After this, 13 Puerto Ricans were convicted and Albizu's pardon was revoked. He spent the rest of his life in a federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia.

On June 4, 1951, nearly 70 percent of the voters approved the first Islandwide plebiscite under United States rule on June 25, 1952, Munoz Marin inaugurated the Commonwealth Constitution by raising the Puerto Rican flag next to the American flag. On the anniversary of the 1898 American invasion, the Nation of Puerto Rico had become a commonwealth of the United States. By the time Munoz Marin retired from leadership of the PPD in 1964, he was credited for an impressive list of accomplishments under his leadership. The Island's standard of living had improved more than in the Latin American countries. However, Puerto Ricans, as part of the American economic system, still had to import American goods with mainland prices. Island incomes never reached the level of those of the poorest states in the Union, and many of the economic success stories were of the American investors on the Island.

PUERTO RICO SEEKS WAY OUT AS ECONOMIC WOES MOUNT [7]

by
David Vidal

The 25 years of industrial growth under "Operation Bootstrap," which some observers considered to have transformed Puerto Rico from an area of neglect into a success symbol for the developing world, have come to a close.

In the operation's place has come a period of uncertainty, economic contraction, record unemployment, and a sobering reassessment of future prospects of this commonwealth of the United States. The past, too, is coming under greater scrutiny.

"What has happened is that the vulnerability of our system has been exposed," Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, a 39-year-old graduate of Johns Hopkins University's law school said in an interview at his La Fortaleza official residence.

An economy whose gross product zoomed almost 10 times from $755-million in 1950 to about $7-billion in fiscal year 1975--at growth rates averaging nearly ten percent over the last 15 years--moved backwards in fiscal year 1975 at a rate of minus 3.5 percent.

According to Hugh Barton, an economic consultant here, the troubles in the United States mainland's economy offer only a part of the explanation.

"In the nineteen-fifties the Government (of Puerto Rico) got the feeling that things were going so well that progress was automatic," he said. "But basically, there was no new economic thinking done after 1960. Right now, a very serious reassessment of the goals and priorities of the Puerto Rican economy is going on."

Tourism, manufacturing and construction have been the outstanding symbols of the island's modern economic rebirth. The troubles afflicting these industries indicate the depths of Puerto Rico's crisis:

- o Five luxury hotels are reportedly on the verge of folding, and rooms occupancy rate in June was less than 45 percent despite the previous closing of 600 tourist hotel rooms.
- o Average wages per hour in manufacturing increased from $2.31 to $2.55, in fiscal year 1975, but the number of jobs was reduced by 23,400.
- o Construction permits for new projects fell almost 29 percent from last year, and employment in that industry dropped by almost 23 percent.

As a result of these and other economic difficulties, about 71 percent of the 3.3 million United States citizens on this Connecticut-sized Caribbean island depend on the Federal Food Stamp Program for survival. In the central town of Jayuya, population 14,000, the Puerto Rican Labor Department reports, the unemployment rate is a staggering 96 percent.

"There has never been anything like this before, never," said Labor Secretary Luis Silva Recio in announcing an official record joblessness level last August of 19.9 percent--about 40 percent when room is made for thousands who are not included in the statistics because they have given up looking for work.

The statistics mean that unemployment is higher than it was before Operation Bootstrap began shifting the base of the economy from agriculture to industry. In 1950, unemployment was 12.9 percent.

Puerto Ricans must import all the rice they eat and most of the meat, the shoes they walk on and much of the clothes they wear--plus 99 percent of the oil needed to keep their factories going. It is understandable, therefore, that the increased oil prices, combined with recession and inflation on the mainland, have had a disastrous effect here.

Nonetheless, while poor economic conditions on the island inspired massive emigration in the previous two decades, no similar phenomenon has occurred in this one. Instead, between 1970 and 1974, the Labor and Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico says, 21,000 more Puerto Ricans returned than left.

IMPACT ON OIL CRISIS

Although the economy of Puerto Rico is closely tied to that of the mainland United States, similar events can have dissimilar impacts. The most outstanding is oil. Puerto Rico lost $500-million in its economy when prices went up because its supplies come largely from Venezuela. On the mainland, lower-priced domestic sources supply 80 percent of the oil.

The oil crisis has also meant an indefinite postponement of plans to use a $1.6-billion petro-chemical plant, built between 1966 and 1972 and foreseen as the springboard for the island's future economic development. There are indications of oil deposits off the island's deep north coastal waters, but no wells have been drilled.

Plans to develop the first superport oil rig under the United States flag, on Mona Island, 40 miles off the west coast of Puerto Rico are also stalled.

The superport would not only supply the island's petrochemical industry, but also stimulate development of additional heavy industries, such as steel and shipbuilding, by making large quantities of raw materials available at competitive prices.

The economy is already based on the processing of imported intermediary and raw materials for re-export. Industries came here in large numbers after 1950, lured by total local and Federal tax exemptions lasting from 10 to 25 years and by relatively cheap labor, two conditions viewed as ensuring particularly high profit margins.

Direct private investments by manufacturing companies, principally from the United States, amount to $4.4-billion.

The island is the largest per capita purchaser of mainland United States goods in the world. In terms of volume, it comes in sixth after industrial giants like Canada, Britain, West Germany, France and Japan.

As long as the $40-million in monthly Federal transfer payments continue in form of the food stamp program--in tandem with stopgap government measures to hold down electrical costs for the poor through a direct subsidy and to uphold price controls on basic consumer goods--the feeling here is that the majority of the people will not have to think much about the predicament their island is in.

Besides, everybody here already knows the problems Puerto Rico faces in developing the economy. A major one is the population density of some 902 persons per square mile. For the United States to have a similar level, the entire world population of more than three billion people would have to live within its borders.

Puerto Rico would rank 26th in population in comparison with the states, but fourth after California, New York, and Texas in the number of citizens who are poor.

The 1970 census found that 59.6 percent of all families here have annual incomes below the federally defined poverty level of $4,500 for an urban family of four, and $3,870 for a rural one.

The island has lovely beaches and a delightful climate, in spite of occasional storm, but is also 56 percent mountainous, making conventional or mechanized agriculture difficult.

An estimated $4-billion in low-grade copper deposits and some nickel have recently been termed worth mining, but environmental considerations have held up attempts to mine them. Beyond that, known mineral resources are scarce.

NEITHER STATE NOR NATION

This realization convinced Luis Munoz Marin, the island's first elected Governor, to lead his island to a status as neither a state nor an independent nation but something in between.

This special relationship also provided the basis of Operation Bootstrap: first attract investments, then supply the labor to the mainland industries that would provide the people's incomes.

This arrangement came to account directly or indirectly for 65 percent of all employment.

Ironically, the very success of the plan in raising the standard of living (the annual per capita income was $297 in 1950 and $1,986 in 1974--though still 40 percent of the United States average of $5,227 for that year) hindered its future possibilities.

An example is the apparel industry, Puerto Rico's largest industrial employer with about a quarter of the manufacturing labor force.

In 1968, Puerto Rico supplied 30 percent of apparel imported by the mainland. By 1972, this share shrank to 16 percent. Shipments remained at or below $370-million in this period while those from lower-wage Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea increased from $313-million to $954-million.

MINIMUM WAGE BLAMED

Commonwealth leaders attributed this to an amendment to the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act of 1974 that ended the system of varying minimum wage rates with the ability-to-pay of different industries.

By January 1, 1976, the Federal minimum of $2.30 an hour is to go into effect in all industries. Minimum wages in Puerto Rico for the apparel industry from $1.44 to $2.10 an hour. In June, the average weekly wage in apparel factories promoted the Fomento, the Economic Development Administration, was $72.93. The average weekly wage in manufacturing was $96.26. Since March, Fomento has countered the adverse effect by offering new factories a 25 percent initial wage subsidy. It says it is too early to gauge results.

In fiscal year 1975, 110 Fomento-produced factories closed and 168 opened, but between them there was an employment loss of 4,400.

JOB-SEEKERS INCREASING

Profits are not as high as they once were for the industries the island needs to employ a labor force of 884,000. Even in the best years of the economic boom, unemployment hovered at chronic levels of 10 to 13 percent. And the potential labor force is expected to increase at an annual rate of 28,000 through 1985.

Fomento's new effort is to attract industries requiring more skills, as in its success in attracting pharmaceutical and electronic companies and to tap the economic recovery of Western Europe by stepping up promotion efforts there, Teodoro Moscoso Femento's administrator, said.

Governor Hernandez Colon and the secretary of the treasury, Salvador Casellas, have already hinted that trimming the size and improving the efficiency of a government bureaucracy of some 222,000 employees--double the current number of employees in manufacturing--is a prime goal. It has already been labeled Operation Production.

The failures in manufacturing have led to a mild revival in agriculture, however. In 1950, traditional crops like sugarcane, molasses, tobacco, and coffee provided 214,000 jobs, and in 1974, 53,000. But in fiscal year 1975 agricultural yields rose 8.3 percent, providing a bright spot in an otherwise somber picture.

The government also has plans for a back-to-the-land drive by redistributing thousands of acres of land to families who would till them in a type of homesteading plan.

Immense change has also struck the fiscal area. The commonwealth government can no longer rely on bond issues as heavily as it had in the past for financing development. Alfredo Salazar, executive vice president of the Puerto Rican government had been told it was "coming to the bond market with too much and too frequently."

"It is precisely in these times of crisis that people realize the importance of our Federal relationship," said Juan A. Albors, head of the finance council and secretary of state, with reference to the social safety valves such as food stamps that the island has because of the commonwealth status it has had with the United States since 1952.

But just as this status is held responsible for past successes, so the new problems highlight its limitations, and there are calls for change.

CHANGES ARE PROPOSED

Last August a committee composed of prominent Puerto Ricans and some members of the United States Congress ended two years' of meetings with a report suggesting substantial changes in the legal compact between Washington and San Juan.

The report calls for the jurisdiction over immigration, minimum wages and environmental concerns to be shifted in part to the island.

It also urges that the island be called the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico, as the Spanish translation of "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" has always held.

A new power to determine the applicability of Federal laws to Puerto Rico would also be vested in the commonwealth.

There have always been proponents of national independence or of becoming a state of the United States as the ultimate solutions to the island's problems, and they are seizing the moment to argue the greater worth of their solutions over the present status.

Senator Ruben Berrios Martinez of the Puerto Rican Independence party heads the leading group group of splintered independence movement. He proposes the establishment of a socialist democracy.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party led by Juan Mari Bras advocates the establishment of a sovereign Puerto Rico governed along Marxist-Leninist lines.

The Mayor of San Juan, Carlos Romero Barcelo, is the leading proponent of statehood with the United States. He has already sounded the theme of a likely race against the incumbent in 1976 gubernatorial elections with a book entitled "Statehood is for the Poor."

MODULE V - ENDNOTES

1. U. S. War Department, Military Government of Puerto Rico from October 18, 1898, to April 30, 1900. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1902.

2. Wagenheim, 1975, p. 70.

3. Wagenheim, 1975, p. 70.

4. Wagenheim, 1975, p. 71

5. Lopez, 1973, pp. 49-50.

6. Lopez and Petras, 1974, p. 133

7. Reprinted from the New York Times, October 15, 1975. By courtesy of the New York Times.

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MODULE VI

THE MIGRATION TO THE MAINLAND:
THE DIASPORA OF THE PUERTO RICAN NATION

1898-1900:
THE U.S. - P.R.
CONNECTION

1898-1900: The United States - Puerto Rican Connection

The Puerto Rican presence in the continental United States can be traced as far back as the 1830's when Puerto Rican merchants were involved in the founding of a Spanish Benevolent Society in New York City. By the middle of the 19th century, Puerto Rico was engaged in more commercial transactions with the United States than with the mother country of Spain. By 1824, many American ships sailed every year to San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez, carrying a variety of agricultural and manufactured commodities which were in demand on the Island. Also, many elite criollos were sending their children to study in American schools. In the late 19th century the growing movement for separation from Spain was being planned in New York by a group of young Puerto Rican and Cuban patriots. After the failure of the Grito de Lares in 1868 (see Module III), many of these young revolutionaries returned to New York to plot again, but eventually they settled down and stayed permanently.

1900-1920

1900-1920: The Early Migrants

Between 1900 and 1901 eleven expeditions of 450 persons left the Island via the Panama Canal for the sugar cane fields of Hawaii. They went planning to return to the Island, but they eventually settled there permanently. In the same year, thousands left the Island for Cuba, Mexico, The Dominican Republic and Ecuador. A dozen years after the American invasion of the Island, the Census Bureau noted approximately 1500 Puerto Ricans on the mainland. In New York City a group of tobacco makers settled on the Lower East Side. Also, during this time, a small group of sailors and their families began to settle around the Navy Stock Yards in Brooklyn, and Puerto Ricans could already be found working in the factories of that area.

The true early immigrants to arrive in great numbers came to the piers of Brooklyn, on such colorfully named steamships as the San Juan, Carolina, Coamo, and the infamous Marine Tiger (later, immigrants referred to these early arrivals as "Marine Tigas").

They landed near the pier at the beginning of Hamilton Avenue, but soon they began to fan out to President, Hatchet and Carole Streets.

INTERNAL
MIGRATION

The Jones Act of 1917 and The Internal Migrants in Puerto Rico

Between 1899 and 1940 the Island's population expanded from 953,243 to 1,869,255. This was primarily due to improved health conditions brought by the American colonial forces, a rapidly declining death rate, and a more stable birth rate. There was internal migration in the 1920's and 1930's from rural areas to the Island's urban centers, and subsequently to the United States. With the Jones Act of 1917 which conferred American citizenship on all the Islanders, Puerto Ricans were free to travel between the colony and the United States without restrictions, quotas, or visas imposed on other immigrant groups. By 1920, there were 12,000 Puerto Ricans living and working in 44 out of the 48 states. Between 1925 and 1930, about 30,000 working class Puerto Ricans left the Island, primarily for the United States. By 1920, the number of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. rose to about 45,000.

EL BARRIO

The Growth of "El Barrio"

At this period in the migration, large numbers of Puerto Ricans began to move into other rundown sections of the city. The East Harlem area of New York City, known subsequently as El Barrio, was one of the primary areas. The boundaries of El Barrio were from 96th Street to 116th Street between 5th Avenue and East Riverside Drive, although in the last ten years this area has gotten somewhat smaller due to the development of public housing projects. At the end of the 19th century this area had been predominately German, Irish, Italian, and to a lesser extent, Jewish. In the early 1920's these immigrants had virtually disappeared and were replaced by Puerto Ricans and Blacks. There were still large pockets of Irish and Italian immigrants, and inter-racial conflicts intensified as more Puerto Ricans began to arrive in the early 1950's.

Today, although this two-square-mile area contains some of the most expensive rental real estate in the United States, it also contains some of the most rundown housing in the United States. This process of decay began in the 1920's and 1930's. The tenants who had been former immigrants left these already deteriorating buildings, and the city was not willing or able at that time to correct the abuse and decay on behalf of the Puerto Rican and Black communities.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PUERTO RICO

Factors Affecting the Migration: The Industrialization of Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico's population experienced phenomenal growth between 1898 and 1940, such that in 1940 the Island's population was almost 1.8 million. Although the popular Democratic Party tried to industrialize the Island's economy in the decade of the 1940's, there was still a high rate of unemployment and under-employment. Even with the building of hundreds of American-owned factories, the economy was unable to absorb the large and ever-growing labor force. Some industries such as the petro-chemical industries aggravated the existing unemployment, since these industries needed very little human labor except for a few highly skilled technicians.

In 1940 in spite of the mass exodus, the rate of unemployment remained at 13.7 percent. These figures did not include the tens of thousands of underemployed workers on the Island. In spite of the Popular Democratic Party's claims of its "economic miracle," the vast majority of the Island's poor lived in extreme poverty on the fringes of American owned luxury hotels, the urbanized middle class and the government bureaucracies.

Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States primarily in search of jobs and material well being that the large American cities supposedly had to offer them. They did not go to settle permanently, or because they felt any particular patriotism toward being an American. The vast majority of these immigrants of the 1940's were rural, poor, unskilled, relatively young and seldom had more than a few years of education. In addition, they did not speak English, and they were not white. This search for a better living situation can be seen in the reverse migration that occurs whenever there is a recession on the mainland. The Puerto Rican is often the last to be hired, first to be fired. During the mainland recessions of 1953-1954, 1957-1958, and the early and late 1960's the reverse migration increased.

This lack of employment on the Island and a rising demand on the mainland for cheap unskilled or semi-skilled labor in competitive industries (such as the garment industries) and in the service sector (janitors, dishwashers, hotel maids, bellboys, etc.)[1] were the primary reasons for the migrations in the 1940's.

The illusion of material wealth, comfort and economic improvements lured many Puerto Ricans to migrate to the United States. Another facilitating agent in this "Diaspora" was low airline transportation rates between the Island and the mainland.

THE 1960's

The 1960's

During the 50's and 60's an internal migration was taking place in the New York Metropolitan area. East Harlem was not the only area of the city occupied by Puerto Ricans. In the late 50's large areas of the Lower East Side, and West Side and Upper Manhattan saw the influx of large numbers of Puerto Ricans. Thousands were moving into the boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens. By 1960 there were more Puerto Ricans living in the Bronx and Brooklyn than in Manhattan. The number of Puerto Ricans in Manhattan declined from 225,500 to about 185,000. Brooklyn in 1960 had 180,000 Puerto Ricans. By 1970, that figure was 400,000. Due to the type of jobs and the limited number of middle-income Puerto Ricans, the population in the traditionally white boroughs, Richmond and Queens, has remained relatively small. Within the Bronx, the major areas of Puerto Rican concentration in 1970 were the South Bronx, Hunts Point, and Morrisania. Within Brooklyn, most Puerto Ricans were concentrated in Williamsburg, Greenpoint and South Brooklyn.

THE MIGRANT LABORER

The Migrant Laborer

This type of immigrant that came to the U.S. mainland in the decades of the 1940's and 1950's was in search of a job and intended to stay for a couple of years and return home. In the 1960's a new type of immigrant appeared and disappeared, or at least remained almost invisible. He has been largely ignored by both the commonwealth government and the federal government, sociologists and the Puerto Rican leaders on the mainland. He is the Puerto Rican seasonal migrant worker. The life of all migrant laborers in this country is filled with economic, racial, physical, and mental exploitation. The Puerto Rican migrant laborers face all these abuses compounded by the problems of coming from an Hispanic culture and speaking Spanish. Approximately 50,000 Puerto Ricans, aged 21-30, often married, with less than five years of schooling, non-skilled and non-English-speaking, migrate from the cane fields of Puerto Rico to work on mainland farms (primarily in Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania). They work for periods of six to nine months before returning to the Island.

The migration of the Puerto Rican seasonal migrant laborer has often been encouraged by the American farmer to increase his agricultural output and profit. This type of migrant must sign a contract before arriving on the mainland that states he will not send for his wife or children or he will lose his job. Many migrant laborers do send for their families and break the contract, whereupon, the farmer has a legal right to fire them and not supply the airfare back to the Island. What often happens is that these men and their families are stranded where they happen to be and find it necessary to get a job. Before they know it, their children are already attending school, and the realization comes that they will perhaps be in this country indefinitely. They often remain close to the original landing site or the surrounding area, and thus the number of Puerto Ricans in Upstate New York and the middle states has increased in the late 60's.

MODULE VI - ENDNOTES

1. U. S. Commission on Human Rights, 1976, p. 57.

MODULE VII

THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN THE U.S.

THE JOB MARKET

Factors Affecting Employment and Low Income

A survey of America's largest metropolitan areas showed that during the 1960's the suburbs gained more than 3 million jobs (a gain of 44 percent) while central cities (where most Puerto Ricans and Blacks reside) lost 836,000 (down 7 percent). During this time in New York City alone, 339,000 jobs were lost, and the number of jobs continued to decline in the early 1970's. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor estimated that from 1969-1974 New York City lost 316,000 jobs. Of these, 194,000 were in manufacturing (the largest single source of employment for both male and female Blacks and Puerto Ricans). It is not surprising, then, that in 1960, 79 percent of the Puerto Rican men were in the labor force (compared with 76 percent today) and 36 percent of the women workde (compared with 26 percent today). The reasons for the decline of so many jobs in the New York Metropolitan area can best be described by the following analysis.

> The causes of the (city's) decline are many and complex. Among them are wage rates higher than those that prevail elsewhere in the country, high energy, rent and land cost, traffic congestion that forces up transportation costs, a lack of modern factory space, high taxes, technological change, the competition of newer centers of economic concentration in the Southwest and the West, the refocusing of American economic and social life in the suburbs.[1]

This "refocusing" of American life is, to some extent, related to the growing reverse migration of middle-class whites from the cities. Those left in the cities include the masses of Black and Puerto Rican poor. These people cannot afford either the housing in the new suburban areas nor the transportation to commute to factories and offices located within the cities. Also, many of these areas supply their own labor force so that Black and Puerto Rican workers are neither requested nor desired.

LANGUAGE AS A BARRIER

Language as a Barrier

Of the total United States population in the late 1960's, 81.6 percent listed English as their mother tongue, and 3.4 percent reported Spanish.[2] In the same survey three out of every four Puerto Ricans said that Spanish was spoken in the home. In reading and writing there are also problems. Eighty percent of U.S. Puerto Ricans under 25 years of age said they could read and write English. Only 60 percent of those over 25 had those capabilities. Seventy-five percent of the U.S. Puerto Rican men surveyed could read and write English, but only 66 percent of the women had comparable skills.

Because Spanish is the mother tongue of most Puerto Ricans and Latinos in the United States, it has become the core of identity for the "Nuyorican" (those Puerto Ricans born or raised in the U.S.). Its usage was also increased in the urban ghettos called the barrios. In these areas, newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs are all in Spanish. Man stores display the sign Acqui se habla espanol (Spanish is spoken here) t attract Puerto Rican and Latino consumers. Subways and buses as well as public accommodations have bilingual signs in Spanish and English. Truly, New York soon will be a bi-lingual city.

FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

The Puerto Rican Woman and Female-Headed Households

Through the industrialization of Puerto Rico, beginning in the 1940's, Puerto Rican women, for the first time in the Island's history, were able to obtain jobs at a higher rate than Puerto Rican men. It has been estimated that about 28 percent of Puerto Rican families are headed by a single parent, and of those Puerto Rican families living in poverty, nearly 60 percent are headed by a single female parent. Due to sexual and racial discrimination, many women are relegated to work in low-status, low-paying jobs. They are also less likely to be employed or to actively seek a job. This has a crippling effect on family income in general. In 1975, families headed by a woman had median earnings of $5,797 compared to $13,005 for families headed by males.

Since a large segment of the Puerto Rican families are headed by females, this low income among Puerto Rican women is detrimental to the Puerto Rican family income. One obvious problem facing many women who work is the need to care for young children and the lack of daycare facilities. Forty percent of Puerto Rican women with no children under 18 work, while only 30 percent of those women with children aged 6-17 work.

The presence of young children is not the only handicap faced by the Puerto Rican woman. Both male and female Puerto Ricans face language difficulties. Considering that the lack of language skills is compounded by racial discrimination, it is not hard to understand why the Puerto Rican communities have the lowest family income of any minority in the United States.

On the job, Puerto Rican factory workers all speak Spanish to each other, thus reducing the incentive to learn English. They know that in most cases their jobs will still be the same with the same wage regardless of how much English they learn. For some Puerto Rican workers, Spanish can be spoken for most of their working years, and they will still be able to earn a living.

Those Puerto Rican workers who have found it necessary to use English, and cannot speak it, have found that communication with their boss and their fellow workers is hampered. This often leads to dismissal before the worker has been able to learn English. Also, the inability to read and write standard English limits Puerto Rican workers in their use of the available media resources (help-wanted ads in English newspapers, accouncements on the radio or T.V.).

In a culture where bilingual education is of low priority and where English, and English only, is seen as the means of communication, being Spanish-speaking is often seen as a mark of inferior intelligence. This can be readily demonstrated by the low representation of Puerto Ricans in training programs. Once a person is classified as non-English, he/she is automatically branded as untrainable.

CERTIFICATION PROBLEMS OF PROFESSIONALS

Certification Problems of Professionals

Many Island-born professionals face the obstacle of certification in trying to gain access to the professions on the mainland. Puerto Ricans who hold professional degrees or licenses from the Island often find that these certificates are not accepted on the mainland. It can be speculated that this is an intentional obstacle set up to keep Puerto Rican professionals from competing with mainland professionals. For example, the current procedures for the New York City school system tend to eliminate qualified Puerto Rican educators from consideration for jobs. This was exemplified when the New York City Board of Education, with the belief that there were no qualified bilingual teachers of Puerto Rican background in New York City, began to recruit bilingual personnel in Puerto Rico. The result was that the Board's offices were flooded with qualified and certified Puerto Rican bilingual personnel.

LACK OF WORK EXPERIENCE

Lack of Work Experience

Recently, in a survey of 500 Puerto Rican families on New York's Lower East of the 208 mothers interviewed, 55 percent of them had never been employed, and indeed, only 12 percent considered themselves employable. Of those women who were working, or who had been employed, 66 percent listed themselves as factory workers, and 14 percent said they were in the service industry. None had held managerial positions, nor had extensive job histories.

Without useful sequential job experiences or training, entering and moving within and upward in occupational areas is almost impossible. The rising use of automation and the increased demand for skilled or semi-skilled labor has seriously narrowed the job market and possibilities for upward mobility for Puerto Rican workers.

DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination

Even though language, lack of skills, transportation, etc., are the most evident handicaps for Puerto Ricans, there is still one handicap which they share with the rest of the "non-white" peoples in this country...racism. Puerto Ricans, coming from a society that is racially composed of Whites, Blacks and Indians, where for centuries interracial marriage was the rule rather than the exception, find it almost impossible to fit into the clear-cut categories of "black" and "white." Indeed, their family might be composed of all three racial elements. Since low-income status and darker-skinned Puerto Ricans have a more than average correlation in Puerto Rico, it can be speculated that those Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland will suffer a certain degree of discrimination along with their American Black brothers and sisters. And those Puerto Ricans that fit the American criteria for white will advance at a faster rate and will probably internalize some of the American racists attitudes about their own darker brethren, furthering the division in an already divided community. Puerto Ricans are obviously discriminated against in a variety of areas.

In 1970, for example, non-Hispanic American adults with a high school diploma earned a median income of $9,091, while Hispanic adults with similar credentials earned only $7,980. Among all non-Hispanic Americans with one or more years of college, median income was $11,887 compared with only $9,114 for Hispanics. This has led a study by the federal government to conclude that the discrimination in hiring and promotion practices which Spanish-speaking workers confront is reflected in the differential income figures reported.

Institutional discrimination in the personnel operations of both the public and private sectors also reflects these practices. Puerto Ricans are underrepresented in governmental jobs. For example, while 9 percent of New York City's population in 1963 was Puerto Rican, less than 3 percent of the city government's 177,000 jobs were held by Puerto Ricans. This condition was still present in 1971 when 10 percent of the city's population was Puerto Rican, and only 6 percent of the 300,000 jobs in the city government were held by Puerto Ricans, and this group also had far less access than Blacks or Whites to high paying jobs. Puerto Ricans held only 3 percent of the administration positions and 2 percent of the professional positions. By 1974, only 500 (1.8%) of the city's 30,000 administrators were Puerto Rican.

In 1972, one-third of all Puerto Ricans in the New York City government earned less than $7,300 per year, compared with 20 percent of other

Spanish-origin persons and only 3 percent of all White employees at that salary level. Only 2 percent of the Puerto Rican city employees earned $13,000 or more per year, compared with 10 percent of the other Spanish-surnamed workers and 15 percent of white workers. In 1972, Puerto Ricans were 5 percent of New York State's population. They held only 2 percent of the 171,000 State government jobs. As of 1970, Puerto Ricans comprised only 0.6 percent of the 27,000 employees at the State University of New York; for instance, in 1973, the New York Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights declared that SUNY was "grossly" discriminating against Black and Puerto Rican educators and administrators.[3]

Also in New York City, no Puerto Rican lawyer had practiced before the Workmen's Compensation Board, and none of the arbitrators was Puerto Rican.[4] In New York City, the civil service is perceived as a "mystery" to most Puerto Rican - Latinos and is allegedly "built to keep those in, in, and those out, out."

Since the migration in the 1950's, Puerto Ricans have made little or no headway in gaining access to or leadership posts in some New York City labor unions. "Fair and equitable representation for Hispanics is not yet a priority or reality in most referral unions and apprenticeship programs," according to the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission[5] Except for carpenters and brick layers, one observer has charged that:

> ...the skilled trades remain practically lily white. In trades requiring less skill, such as excavators, concrete laborers, and mason tenders, for which many Black and Puerto Rican workers could immediately qualify, the unions, in collusion with the contractors, and with the tacit approval of the city authorities, have succeeded in restricting employment to just slightly more than a token number of non-white union construction workers.[6]

The language barrier can be surmounted, and with skilled training, the jobs can be obtained. However, it is the invisible discriminatory practices in the public and private sectors of this country that so infuriate and frustrate the Puerto Rican Americans.

It is wrong for a child to go to school in the United States and struggle to survive a system that automatically brands him as inferior because his color is "wrong," his speech is not perfect and his habits are of an alien culture, and then expect him to honor and obey the laws of the land that are often in violation of his civil rights. We must take a closer look not only at the systems that operate in this country but also at the definition of American democracy. Is it democracy for all or just for a chosen and select few? Or even more fundamental: "Are all Americans created equal, or are some Americans more equal than others?"

JOBS AND INCOMES

Jobs and Incomes

Hispanic families in the U.S., according to a March 1975 income survey by the Census Bureau, were much poorer than the total population of the country. The survey also concluded that Puerto Rican families were the poorest of all Hispanics.

The median income for the nation's 55 million families was $12,836. This nation's 2.5 million Hispanic families, however, had a median income of only $9,559. These figures included all Hispanics. A breakdown of the figures will show the immense difference within this group and clearly show the economic plight of this nation's Puerto Rican citizens.

a. The 1.4 million families headed by persons of Mexican-American origin had a median income of $9,498.

b. The 664,000 Cuban and other Latin American families had a median income of $11,410.

c. Lowest of all was the median income of Puerto Rican families - only $7,629.[7]

The same survey indicated another economic tragedy for Puerto Ricans. It showed that while almost 12 percent of American families lived in poverty, the number of Puerto Rican families living in poverty was twice the national average.

While 14 percent of the Cuban famlies were poor and 24 percent of the Mexican families fell into that category, nearly half (32.6 percent) of the mainland Puerto Rican families were so designated.

1950's:
MALES

The 1950's and Jobs: Males

The 1950 United States Census reported that 70 percent of the Puerto Rican males were in the lowest income occupations such as: cperatives, service workers, and laborers. Ten percent of the sales and clerical workers were Puerto Rican, and 8 percent of the managers, officials, proprietors, professionals, and technicians were Puerto Ricans.

1950's:
FEMALES

The 1950's and Jobs: Females

The same survey also showed that 78 percent of the employed Puerto Rican females held jobs as operatives, 9 percent in clerical and sales positions, 6 percent as service workers and 2 percent as professionals and technicians. The 11 percent unemployment rate among Puerto Ricans in the 1950's was concentrated in the 14-19 year old category. In the late 1950's there was a slight increase in white collar work within the clerical sales category, but still eight out of ten working Puerto Ricans were in the blue-collar categories.

1960's
WAR ON
POVERTY

The 1960's and the War on Poverty

Despite the "War on Poverty" of the 1960's and despite federal and state equal opportunity laws, Puerto Ricans fell below the national average. In 1959, Puerto Rican families' earnings were 71 percent of the national average, and although there has been an increase, Puerto Rican income has fallen progressively behind the national average (1974-59 percent of the national average). In a sense, Puerto Ricans are worse off today than they were in 1959, before the "War on Poverty." The deterioration may be partly due to the recent national recession, since the Puerto Ricans, like most minorities, are the worst hit by any recession. Whatever the causes, however, 33 percent of Puerto Rican families live in poverty, compared with 29 percent in 1970.

This widening income gap was apparent as early as 1969, before the recession began. Although at that time the Puerto Rican family income was well below the national average, the profile of a typical Puerto Rican family coincided closely with the typical American family. Less than 10 percent of the Puerto Rican families had no income earners, nearly half had at least one earner, and more than 43 percent had two earners or more. But ten years later, nearly one-fifth of the Puerto Rican families had no income earner (more than twice the national average), and only 35 percent had two or more earners (compared with more than 50 percent for the total population).

SOURCES
OF INCOME

Sources of Income

The growing economic decline of the Puerto Rican communities on the mainland can best be understood by a comparison of the sources of income for this group as measured against that of the total population of the United States. The 1970 Census demonstrated that more than 15 percent of the U.S. families received income from self-employment (private business) compared with less than 4 percent of the Puerto Rican families. While 5 percent of all U.S. families depended to some extent upon public assistance or welfare, the Puerto Rican family's percentage stood at 25 percent. The 1970 Census showed that 79,863 Puerto Rican families received approximately $188.9 million in public assistance. However, the majority of Puerto Rican families (more than 250,000) were self-supporting, and had earnings of nearly $2 million.

UNEMPLOYMENT:
DEFINITION

Unemployment: A Matter of Definition

While unemployment in the mainland Puerto Rican communities has been acknowledged to be substantially higher than the national average, this figure does not truly portray the real extent of unemployment. In 1972, the Bureau of the Census showed that 6 percent of all U.S. males were jobless, compared to 8.8 percent for Puerto Rican males. Among females the national figure was 6.6 percent compared with 17.6 percent of Puerto Rican females.

These figures can be misleading, since the Census Bureau's figures also reflect the percentage of the labor force which is jobless. The "labor force" includes all adult persons who are employed or *actively seeking employment.* This definition, then, does not take into account those people who are willing and able to work but have lost hope and incentive to look for jobs that are closed to them. While 86 percent of all adult males are part of the labor force (working or actively seeking work), only 76 percent of Puerto Rican males are so defined. The same can be said of the females. While nearly 50 percent of all U.S. women are in the labor force, only 32 percent of the Puerto Rican women are in this labor force.

These estimates follow with an earlier report by the U.S. Department of Labor (1966) which stated:

> ...increasingly it is clear that the unemployment rate which counts those unemployed in the sense that they are actively looking for work and unable to find it gives only a relatively superficial index of the degree of labor market maladjustment that exists in a community. The sub-employment rate also includes those working only part-time when they are trying to get full-time work; those heads of household under 65 years of age who earn less than $60 per week working full-time; and those individuals under 65 who are not heads of household and earn less than $56 per week in a full-time job; half the number of "nonparticipants" in the male 20-64 age group; and an estimate of the male "undercount" group, which is of very real concern in the Ghetto areas."[8]

When these four components are added to the traditional unemployment rates, the dimensions of the problem begin to take shape. We find that the sub-employment rate for Puerto Ricans in slum areas in New York is 33.1 percent in contrast with the 10 percent (official) unemployment rate. Indeed, in the areas of Puerto Rican concentration - East Harlem - it rises to 37 percent. In other words, for every officially counted unemployed Puerto Rican worker there at least two others who have a very real problem in terms of labor force maladjustment.[9]

OCCUPATIONS

The Occupations

As with the case of the 1950's, most Puerto Rican workers are still heavily concentrated in low-skilled, blue-collar jobs. Also, many Puerto Rican workers are employed in the declining areas of New York City's light industries (labor intensive) and subject to lay-offs and seasonal employment.

In a nationwide survey, more than 33 percent of Puerto Rican males and 39 percent of the Puerto Rican females were operatives, which includes factory workers, dress makers, and seamstresses. The second major category for males is services, such as restaurant and custodial workers. For the females, the second largest group is clerical work.

In industry in 1960, about 55 percent of Puerto Rican workers were employed in manufacturing, but this figure plunges to 41 percent in 1970. This figure is indicative of New York City's drastic loss of jobs in the area of industry.

When speaking of that portion of the Puerto Rican labor force indulged in high-skilled white-collar work, the Puerto Rican is under-represented in comparison with the total U.S. population. However, when in the so-called "better" occupations, Puerto Ricans are still relegated to the lower bottom of the pay scale. Puerto Rican managers and administrators, for example, are mostly in the wholesale and retail trades rather than in manufacturing or with large corporate organizations. In the professional and technical fields, those involved are usually technicians and educators. In the sales category, most Puerto Ricans are mostly retail clerks, rather than insurance or real estate agents. In the clerical field they are usually again in the lower-status, lower-pay scale as clerks, typists, and machine operators rather than secretaries.

In New Jersey, an estimated 68 percent of the employed Puerto Ricans hold low-paying jobs. In Newark, according to the 1970 Census, 63 percent of the workers were operatives and laborers. In New Haven, Connecticut, Puerto Ricans again face the same plight of low-level unskilled jobs with little hope of advancement. More than 78 percent of the Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in the city were in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs, and in nearby Bridgeport unemployment among Hispanics reached 30 percent to 40 percent in 1974 compared with 8.8 percent of all residents of the area.

In Massachusetts, too, the jobs that Puerto Ricans hold are those of dishwashers, deliverymen, factory workers, and laundry workers. About 75 percent of the State's Puerto Rican workers have service jobs, or are laborers or operatives. Few are in the building and construction trades, in heavy industries or civil service positions. In Boston, more than 49 percent of the Puerto Rican families are below the poverty level, compared with 16 percent of all families in the city.

In 1970, only 4 percent of the Puerto Ricans in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania held "professional" or "technical" jobs, compared with 15 percent for Whites, and 5.8 percent for Blacks. Puerto Ricans had 4.2 percent of the jobs as managers and administrators, compared with 12 percent for Whites and 3 percent for Blacks. Puerto Ricans were behind Whites, but not Blacks, in sales jobs. They were behind Whites and about even with Blacks in jobs as craftsmen. Again, the largest single occupation for Puerto Ricans in the three Middle States was operatives, meaning factory workers, where they showed 25 percent. About 13 percent of the Whites and 19 percent of the Blacks were in that category.

MODULE VII - ENDNOTES

1. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, October 1976.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid
4. Ibid
5. Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Ibid
9. Ibid

MODULE VIII

THE HISPANIC ORIGINS OF THE PUERTO RICAN FAMILY
THE AMERICANIZATION OF PUERTO RICO:
THE BROKEN FAMILY IN NEW YORK

HISTORICAL
ROOTS

Introduction: Historical Roots

The Puerto Rican family structure shares a great deal with families in Spain, Ireland, the U.S., etc. The society of the Island is, after all, part of the Spanish speaking world which is an integral part of the larger western society.

When Ponce de Leon first landed on the Island of Boriken, the military superiority of the Spanish insured that the Spanish language and culture would dominate the Island forever. The Spanish also brought with them Iberian ideas about courtship, marriage, and family life. Added to this is the indirect African-Moorish influence which placed a heavy emphasis on the seclusion of the female, and the Catholic worship of the Virgin Mary with its emphasis on virginity. We must remember that the brutality and repression of the Spanish military and ecclesiastical administrators was all pervasive and that they served as role models in all areas of language, religion and culture for nearly 400 years. These factors all contributed to make the male-female relationship into a social system called machismo.

AMERICAN
IMPERIALISM
VS. SPANISH
TRADITIONS

American Imperialism vs. Hispanic Traditions

Seen in the context of the American cultural invasion of 1898 and the subsequent transformation of the Island from an agrarian society to a modern industrialized capitalist "commonwealth," the problem of the breakdown of the Puerto Rican family system can be documented as a symptom of a far greater trauma in the Puerto Rican national consciousness. For the Puerto Ricans, the issue is less that of direct cultural assimilation (as was the case of the Italian, Jewish, and Irish immigrants on the U.S. mainland) than the far more controversial "cultural Imperialism."

The "commonwealth" relationship of the Island to the mainland, with its political ambiguity and economic independence, has resulted in what can be called "cultural distortion" and a deep sense of loss of much of the traditional culture. What took three centuries to form in a synthesis of the Indo-Iberian-African cultures has been changed rapidly by the synthesis of the American Protestant Anglo-Saxon Culture.

The economic and political progress made in the last decade is still very real and welcomed by the majority of the Islanders. However, there is longing and nostalgia for the days of "our grandfathers." Any attempt to analyze any aspect of contemporary Puerto Rican society on the Island and the U.S. mainland without first addressing this sensitive issue treats the symptom without looking for the disease.

Culturally, Puerto Rico has been removed from her sister Hispanic societies of the Greater Antilles and the Latin American continent without being assimilated into America's cultural milieu, creating in Puerto Ricans an inability to fully identify either with North Americans or with their fellow Latin Americans. "The Showcase of Free Enterprise" has become what some have referred to as "The Frankenstein of the Caribbean." The Puerto Rican family has felt this trauma most severely.

When an entire group is undergoing such a change, it should not be assumed that its individual members will move along at the same

> pace ... Family circles may thus be expected to be torn between the old and the new ... The influx of new migrants from the Island keeps alive the overall ambivalent attitudes of the Puerto Rican community."
>
> Trying to describe and understand the ... Puerto Rican family of our day is, on the whole, not easy. The Island society is undergoing numerous changes, briefly identifiable by such terms as urbanization, industrialization, diffusion of literacy, growing life span, increasing population, etc.... Neither back home nor here in the States can their existence be described as stable and secure.[1]

MACHISMO
& THE
VIRGINITY
CULT

Differential Sex Roles: Machismo and the Virginity Cult

Traditionally, the Puerto Rican familial system, with its Indian, Iberian and African elements, the agrarian developments of Puerto Rico's colonial period, and the European Catholic roots, has given the male an almost omnipotent, authoritarian, idealized role in which the wife, for all intents and purposes, is a piece of her husband's property. An elaborate rationalized system of traditional taboos has been developed in the areas of child rearing, courtship, marital relations, and the socio-religious functions of the family; and these taboos reinforce and perpetuate the basic inequality that exists between man and woman.

From birth a woman is viewed as being "inherently inferior" to a man. Upon birth, a female child is referred to as a chancletta (an old worn-out slipper) and a man who only sires female offspring is branded chancletero (old slipper maker). A female is seen as in need of masculine protection due to her "moral weakness" and her "mental disability." The psychological separation of the sexes throughout life is maintained by the virginity cult and male chauvinism (machismo).

Puerto Rican girls live very much the repressive life of a cloistered society, due to the cult of the Virgin Mary. Although a courtship ritual is allowed, this is parentally supervised (chaperone system). Pre-marital sex is so strictly taboo that a bride who does not prove to be a virgin on her wedding night may face the humiliation of being returned to her father's house, and the marriage being annulled. Occasionally, in the past the family would physically punish the girl since it is a shame that the whole family must bear.

Machismo, however, not only exalts the innate superiority of maleness over femaleness but also encourages and often demands pre-marital sexual experience on the part of the adolescent male as a badge of his manhood. This presents a problem in Puerto Rican society since everyone seems to be guarding his sister from the same encroachment. The only women available to these young men would be the women prostitutes or puta. This word carries a stigma in the society, and it should be used with caution. The greatest insult you can hurl at a Puerto Rican is hijo de puta (son of a whore). This experimenting and casual sexual encounters do not stop at marriage. Again, the male has the prerogative to continue to be a conquistador de mujeres (the conqueror of women). The woman in this relationship, the corteja or concubino (courtesan or concubine) and her children have the position of always being the last in the society. The legal wife and children will (even though the man may truly love his corteja and her children) always come first as the symbol of his family. The children (hijos de concubinato or bastardos - children of concubines, bastards) carry a social stigma of not knowing their father or not being recognized as legal children. The legal wife will often know of the existence of this woman, but will console herself by saying such things as, "I am his wife, I bear his name, I am the mother of his children, I am his housekeeper, and I will always come first," or "I will bear the burden for the sake of my home, my honor and my children."

A married woman who betrays her husband, le pega los cuernos or se la pega (puts the horns on her husband) is seen as lower than the puta (whore). Her betrayal is seen as a betrayal not only of her marital vows, but a betrayal of the whole social system which places the woman as the vessel of virtue and morals for her children and society. Such a betrayal can often lead to violence and even death at the hand of the betrayed husband. To be a cabron (a betrayed or cuckholded husband) is the greatest shame for a man to bear. Even being a corteja is not as low a status as the betrayer of a husband or a puta.

Such societal attitudes and values attached to different sex roles creates an almost irrational relationship between the sexes, both within and outside the marital state. This already existing chasm between the sexes is even more emphasized after marriage. The male and female then approach marriage from opposing corners.

The result of a strict upbringing, motherly advice, and the ritualized courtship is that many girls approach marriage with hazy romanticized expectations. She usually regards sex as a necessary evil and enters the sexual aspect of marriage with attitudes ranging from ignorance to sheer revulsion. The male, on the other hand, already having had some sporadic pre-marital experience with prostitutes, comes to marriage with at least a crude and usually decided appetite for sex. The male's preoccupation with sexual matters may only increase his wife's indifference or actual revulsion toward normal, wholesome, fulfilling sexual relations. This leads to mutual distrust to the point that it has been argued that one major reason for the non-use of rational birth control is because husband and wife will not openly discuss matters dealing with sexual activity.

These forces all come together to create an almost insurmountable schism between the ideal and reality in marital relations. The Virgin Cult converts the wife into a tower of virtue to be adored, rather than a flesh and blood female to be lived with. The male, in order to appease his appetite for sex, will often look outside of the home to a guerida or corteja for sexual gratification while indulging in intercourse with his wife for procreation purposes only. Some young women have observed cynically that what girls in love expect is heaven, while what it often turns out to be is hell. Too often, your women will marry early to escape the tyranny of home only to find themselves in the more restricting tyranny of marriage and a husband.

This gap between the sexes is carried over into social relations. At parties in most of the middle-class and working-class homes the men and women will segregate from each other. The men go into the living room to discuss politics and drink rum, and the women to the kitchen to discuss cooking, children, and the town gossip. The wife is expected to conform to a set of behavioral values that define a "good wife"; that is, she is not to attend a movie alone, allow male friends or relatives (including her own brother) to visit when her husband is not home, or even entertain a fantasy of looking at a man other than her husband. Such behavior is seen as virtual infidelity. This is a result of the ambiguity of the Virgin-Madonna complex. Although Puerto Rican men idolize the purity of a daughter, wife and mother, they still entertain a suspicion of their easy surrender to temptation due to their "inferior" and "uncontrollable psyches."

COMPADRAZGO SYSTEM

Hijos de Crianza and the Compadrazgo System

Within the Puerto Rican extended family system, children are shifted from their homes to relatives or ritual kin with a great deal of ease. This period may be a weekend, weeks, months, years or permanently. Often parents with too many children to support will give a child to a cousin or sister to rear as her own. When a parent relinquishes parental rights and duties to another relative, that child is referred to as an hijo de crianza (children of upbringing).

At the death of the parents the extended kin or ritual kin will assume full responsibility for the offspring. However, death is not the only means by which children can be adopted. Children will often be sent to live with grandparents or a relative who is better off and able to supply the child with a good home and education.

This shifting of the children from kin to kin can serve as a reinforcer of the extended family system or as a manifestation of the phenomenon itself. When a family migrates in Puerto Rico from the countryside to the city, or subsequently to the mainland, the hijo de crianza serves as an umbilical cord in the extended family.

One of the most efficient and frequently used means of transfer is the institutionalized compadrazgo (godfather) system. To most Americans, the godfather relationship is an empty ritual. To Puerto Rican society, this custom is a living, vital part of the relationship between neighbors and friends. It developed as a survival mechanism early in Puerto Rican history, when the death of a parent or parents threatened the survival of the family.

Even more important to the understanding of the contemporary Puerto Rican family is the understanding of the compadre relationship between any two people in Puerto Rican society. It is a relationship that connects families in a network of mutual aid and friendship. As an old proverb states: "Los siete sacramentos estan entre nosotros" (the seven sacraments are between us). Not only is the relation holy and sacred, but there must be no human misery. The padrino or madrina will be responsible for raising a child whose parents have died or are no longer able to take care of him or her. The child will be referred to by his madrina or padrino as a aijado (co-child or son).

The compadragzo system was traditionally used in an agrarian setting to settle quarrels over land and women, but now serves the purpose of relieving the pressure on the extended family.

EXTENDED FAMILY & BIRTH CONTROL

The Extended Family and Birth Control

Both men and women in Puerto Rican society are expected to produce a child as soon as possible upon marriage (but not too fast or people in the town will count the days, and try to figure out if the girl was pregnant before the wedding. Premature babies are even suspected to have been conceived prior to marriage.) The responsibilities of fertility and birth control are again the duties of a woman. The worst thing a Puerto Rican newlywed can be called is machorra (barren one, unfit one). Another insult is to call her a jamona (old maid or literally old ham), if she is in her thirties and is not married.

In terms of machismo, the amount of respect from peers and the community accorded a good father (un buen padre) is in proportion to the size of the man's family and the number of male children he has produced. Thus, an institution that had survival value once now becomes a masculine substitute for economic achievement in the society at large. "Mira como la tengo" (look at what I have done to her), a working-class Puerto Rican male will boast as he displays his pregnant wife. Thus, the more inseminations he can achieve, the more macho he is viewed by his fellow males and society.

Although Puerto Rican females show a concern and desire to limit family size, the males seem to show the opposite tendencies. The males' reluctance to discuss or use contraceptive measures and their dominance over the frequency and manner of sexual relations will insure that contraceptives have minimal effect on the birth rate on the Island. This, plus government pressure, have caused Puerto Rican women to take part in the earliest experiments on the birth control pill.

But, there is only one way to insure that no pregnancy occurs - tubal ligation. Since the early days of industrialization, Puerto Rican women have been undergoing this drastic birth control method to the point that by 1968, 35 percent of the Puerto Rican women between the ages of 20-49 years, have been sterilized according to a study done by the Puerto Rican demographer, Dr. Jose Calzada, Puerto Rico has the largest incidence of sterilization in the world.

THE WOMAN
IN
PUERTO RICO

Position of the Puerto Rican Woman in Puerto Rico

Over the last few years, there has been a growing admission of the inferior status women hold with society. In the United States the Women's Liberation Movement has emerged composed predominantly of white, middle-class women. This movement has been unsuccessful in reaching working poor and minority group women because it has not addressed the most crucial issues of poor women.

Of concern here is the Puerto Rican woman whose position and status must be examined within the context of the Puerto Rican people as a whole. The Puerto Rican people as a whole are at the bottom of the economic ladder and are discriminated against. The Puerto Rican woman suffers additional discrimination and abuse as a woman.

With the introduction of industrialization, women entered the labor force. They began to share responsibility for making money with their husbands although they held the lowest-paying, low-status positions. Social customs still tied her to the family, and she was still considered inferior and incapable of handling the intellectual pursuits or the physical hardships of a "man's" world. Nevertheless, her entrance into the work force gave her a measure of freedom which she had never had before.

By 1970, 25 percent of Puerto Rican women worked in factories in a variety of jobs from packers and seamstresses to assemblers and inspectors. Another large concentration, 14 per cent, worked as beauticians, health aides, cooks and domestics. More than twice as many of the employed women as the employed men were professionals (18.5 percent vs. 8.8 percent).

However, men continued to dominate many fields, including accounting, engineering, law, medicine, and natural sciences. Women were typically nurses, health technicians, and social workers. Nevertheless, women had made substantial inroads in some fields such as university teaching, pharmaceuticals, medicine, and new fields like statistics and computer programming. The managerial, administrative and selling occupations remained largely the domain of men.

THE WOMAN
IN THE U.S.

Position of the Puerto Rican Woman in the United States

The Puerto Rican woman has inherited the historical pattern of the immigrant woman working beside the man and sharing the work and responsibilities.

Only 28 percent to 38 percent of Puerto Rican women of working age nationwide participate in the labor force. The labor force participation rate among all U.S. women is nearly 50 percent.

The median earnings for Puerto Rican women are less than the $6,185. Yet as the Puerto Rican woman enters the work force in the U.S., she gains a measure of economic and social independence which she has not had before.

However, the "official" unemployment rate among Puerto Rican women is 17.8 percent (adjusted rate is 56.4 percent), the highest rate of any Spanish surnamed group and almost three times the national average. Many Puerto Rican women do not work because they have small children under 18. Over half of these families have more than five members. Of all Puerto Ricans living in this country, 28.7 percent are under ten years old. The Puerto Rican population in the United States is extremely young; the median age is 18 years old.

Another obstacle is that Puerto Rican women on the average complete 8.8 years of schooling. Low educational attainment coupled with a lack of a command of English paint a bleak economic picture for the Puerto Rican woman. This low involvement of women in the labor force has certainly had a crippling effect upon the income and position of the Puerto Rican family as a whole.

PUERTO RICAN
FAMILY IN
NEW YORK

The Puerto Rican Family in New York: The Change and the Consequences

A disruptive family setting is one factor that has been found to be common in all drug abuse cases. An unstable family, a parent's lack of understanding of a child's needs, or a parent's partial or total lack of involvement with the child are all prime contributing factors to the formation of a drug abuser.

When Puerto Ricans began the trek to New York in the early fifties, it was the family which was the first to feel the erosion of the big city life.

The pattern for the extended family to slowly become more of a nuclear family was established. Usually, the father would come alone, stay with a relative, find a job and an apartment, and then gradually bring the family over. This had the effect of severing the father as the head of the family with half of the family in Puerto Rico and the other half in the United States. When finally united, various changes had already taken place in such areas as the degree of fluency in English, changed values and attitudes, and new expectations.

Although this pattern was traditional because of industrialization on the Island, many women migrated to the United States with the children, minus a husband. Perhaps the husband had deserted the family, or the wife had been unable to work under the restrictions placed on her by her husband and society and had decided to get divorced. She then came to the U.S. to exercise her new-found freedom and better the economic possibilities for her family.

Those families who came here intact underwent further changes. The Puerto Rican mother who traditionally stayed home to care for and supervise her children was faced with her family's economic need and went to work. It happened that she was usually able to get a job faster than her husband, furthering the reversal of roles which had perhaps begun in Puerto Rico.

In Puerto Rico the children were under the constant surveillance of the mother (if she did not work). When she was not able to supervise them, she had access to her extended family (a grandmother, aunt, sister-in-law, cousin, comadre, etc.) or her nearby neighbors, who could keep an eye out for the children and reprimand them when they got into mischief. The boys were praised for the good qualities ascribed to being a proper male and, aside from requiring them to be respectful to their fathers (whether or not they still resided in the same household), they were left to socialize with their peers. A high priority was also given to respect (respeto) for the community members, especially the elderly, teachers, policemen, priests, etc. Talking back, raising the voice, not doing what one was told, acting out in school and such, were seen as lack of respect (falta de respeto) to be punished immediately by physical means (the strap, whipping, etc.) or when the father got home.

In school, the teacher had the absolute right to physically punish a child who was rude, disruptive, or lacked respect for his teacher. The Puerto Rican parents made sure the child understood this. The teachers were the second set of parents; they were always right. After school the boys could go to the park or the plaza to hang around with their peers, come home for dinner, and do homework at a specified time (usually 6:00 p.m.).

For the young girls, the set of rules was completely different. Due to the high social-religious values and attitude ascribed to virginity, they were carefully segregated and watched in school, at play, at the movies, at dances, etc. They were under the direct supervision of their mother, brother, father, aunt, etc.

These traditional patterns came into conflict in the urban American setting. Discipline and supervision were the first problems that usually arose. The sister-in-law, comadre, grandmother, aunt and cousin were left behind in Puerto Rico. If they had gone along to New York, the availability of apartments in the same housing project was slim.

The children who were once the shared responsibility of the extended family and community now were a strain on the family. But not only was the family restricted, but parental control and supervision also began to erode under economic pressures. The family soon realized that it was necessary for both parents to work (if there were two parents). For a female-headed household, the problem is almost insurmountable.

The children (both male and female) now were faced with free time from 3:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. when their parents came home from work. In Puerto Rico this was not a problem, but here the boys' tendencies were to hang out in the streets with other boys who had perhaps begun to use drugs and were already losing respect for their parents.

For the girls, the house became a prison since neighbors were no longer around or trusted. The girls were kept virtual prisoners in small crowded tenements by their brother (either older or younger). They soon began to resent this since they saw American girls being allowed to go to after-school centers and attend co-ed dances, games, etc.

This traditional separation between the sexes was not viable and/or practical in New York. The settlement houses and church centers were of no great help to the Puerto Rican parents. To the Americans running these places, Puerto Rican boys and girls, talking, dancing and playing together were healthy signs of adjustment to the new American behavior patterns. The reverse picture was held by Puerto Rican parents. Such activities were open invitations to sexual encounters, loss of virginity, and unwanted pregnancies. Also, many of the children attending these places were from broken homes and were seen as malcriados (badly brought up) by the immigrants.

As the young Puerto Ricans went to school, English was soon picked up and the children became bilingual. The parents, often working with other Puerto Ricans, reading Spanish newspapers, listening to Spanish radio shows, had not made the effort to acquire English as fast as the children. Children came to perceive their parents as stupid and old-fashioned. The parents soon began to depend on the children for translation purposes. The children became the eyes, ears, and mouths in any official communications with school, health agencies, welfare agencies, etc.

If the mother worked and the father did not, the traditional male roles of husband, provider, authority, and the submissive female figure of wife and housekeeper were reversed, so that now the children were bewildered about whom they should respect and fear.

This problem of role reversal also caused great difficulty in the marital relations of the parents. Although now she was the breadwinner (if both worked, a co-earner), she still was seen by her husband as incapable of handling the complicated mechanics of money, and she had to hand over her check to him for management. Very soon the situation became intolerable. The wife was exposed to the American system and began to resent her husband's handling of her money.

The man's reaction to this was often to become physically brutal. He might start drinking, or taking drugs and beating his wife and children to show them that he was still macho and to be respected. Many Puerto Rican women suffered for the sake of their home and children. Others did not and got divorced and the final break-up of the family unit was insured. Now the mother-father female had to deal with her children who by now were literally living in the streets.

If the parents stayed together and both worked, the reaction to the danger of the streets was to curtail the activity of their children. For the boys, it was a shame to be seen under their parents' constant supervision. For the girls, the strict Island supervision was stifling.

In Puerto Rico, early marriage (usually 16-21 years) was seen as an escape, but there was no place in Puerto Rican culture or social patterns for the older working girl who did not marry early. Many girls found this situation impossible, but they did not move away from home. They argued that a single woman who left home was suspected of not being a nice girl and an easy sex encounter. Also, no decent young man would dare bring her home to his parents to have to explain that she lived alone.

GROWTH OF YOUTH GANGS

The Growth of the Youth Gang: 1950-1960

In the New York urban ghettos of the late 50's and the early 60's, the Puerto Rican family was undergoing rapid and drastic change. One might suspect that the children coming from these homes were not going to subscribe to the machismo principle of the parent culture. However, this did not happen yet. The boys who often lacked a positive male image or whose father had deserted the family, found a need for some sort of discipline and guidance into the world of manhood. As a result, the Puerto Rican young men began to form gangs with a hierarchy of males as role models. The once positive aspects of machismo (good citizen, good father, good son, good provider) were perverted and machismo meant "going down on" (fighting another gang) as ultimate proof of manhood. They were more manly than the next gang because they could fight better.

There was survival value to this system. Puerto Rican youth coming to the new setting had to compete with Black, Italian, and Irish youth who would often beat up the newcomers as sport. While the loss of family and cultural identity were alleviated, to some extent by the gang, the insecurities associated with the loss then became the collective problem of the entire gang. There was a constant need on the part of the younger members to prove themselves, and they did this by fighting their own gang members and by the traditional conquest of girls.

The role of the young "nice, sheltered, Puerto Rican girl" also began to change to a role more equal with her boyfriend. The authority gone in the home gave way for her to go out with her gang boyfriend. Her strong sense of Puerto Rican values and taboos made her a "passive" member in the gang. She was still a "nice" girl even though she went out with her gang boyfriend. Still attached to the old value system, they both thought gangs were wrong but necessary.

As the family lost complete control over the young men and women, the self-identity of Puerto Ricans grew weaker, the gang became accepted, and the girls changed roles from passive member to an active, aggressive role. She now participated and instigated fights.

As violence became part of female sexual attractiveness, "deb" gangs grew from auxilliaries of male gangs to separate all-female units. The girl no longer needed to relate to the old values and attitudes attached to being a respectable woman. She was a fighter, and a fighter related to her leader and her fellow debs.

She was now on equal footing with her boyfriend. She could fight and use any means she could. She dressed, cursed, drank, smoked and shot up dope as well as any of the young men in the gangs.

The parental culture with its religion, family, thrift, "morality," and respeto all became dysfunctional in the daily hustle, and was abandoned. At the same time, the Puerto Rican youth were unable to internalize or understand the reason for many of the values and norms of an "American-Anglo" social situation. Pedro heard about "democracy" and "equality" and what that meant for Americans but that "democracy" and "equality" were denied him because he was the wrong color, spoke the wrong language, and lived in a different culture. They were truly abandoned; they were lost.

The gang system functioned as a sort of "supra-family" system with the authority of the father replaced by the authority and rules of the gang. The "rites of manhood" now became "the rumbles." One might think this served a purpose and perhaps it could, in time, have helped the youth to overcome the social-cultural shock in the Puerto Rican Community and to even transmit some cultural value to the next generations. But the opposite occurred. In the later stages, the last vestiges of Puerto Rican identity gone and the family unit broken, the Puerto Rican youth sought some identity in his gang. A Puerto Rican youth did not see himself reflected in a cultural and nationalist sense but as "Tito of the Dragons, East 103rd Street."

As the police authorities began to crack down on gangs, dope (heroin) began to be pumped into the ghettos of New York City and Metropolitan areas. The gangs, almost to an individual, became addicted. The first to succumb to the drugs were the top leaders or presidents. The lower echelons, copying their leaders, also began to shoot dope. The girls who became addicted were soon seen in the streets prostituting their bodies to feed not only their habit but also their boyfriend's habit.

Some sociologists argue that heroin became "the community," to the exclusion of everything else, family, friends, or neighborhood.

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COMMON TERMINOLOGY USED IN THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS IN PUERTO RICO AND NEW YORK CITY

Chancleta: (old slipper) A euphimistic word used to describe a newborn baby girl.

Chancletero: (old slipper maker) A man who only sires females; appelation used in a humerous way.

Macho: (male, masculine) A term applied to any activities or traits that are strictly in the domain of the male as defined by the culture, i.e., great strength, valor, the ability to ingest a great deal of liquor without showing the effects - ser muy macho - to be very masculine or display such behavior.

Señorita: (miss) A term used to apply to an unmarried girl. It subtly implies that she is a virgin.

Virgen: (virgin) A young woman who has never had sexual intercourse. Clean, unsullied naive, innocent.

Ms: There is not as yet a translation for this term in Spanish.

Señora: (Mrs.) A married woman.

Mujer: A woman

Jamona: (old maid) A term used for any woman over thirty who is not married.

Machorra: (barren one, unfit, sterile) A sterile woman. The term is used sparingly and carried a great deal of stigma for a sterile female.

Hijo de Puta: (son of a bitch, whore) Use should be avoided since most Puerto Rican New Yorkers may regard this as a personal insult against their mothers.

Concubina-Corteja: Other woman amante (concubine, lover) Terms used to describe a female who lives with married men.

Hijo de concubinato, Bastardos: (bastards, out of wedlock, love children) Used to describe the status of children born out of wedlock.

Hijo de crianzas: (foster children) Children who are part of any given family or household even though they may not have blood-ties to the family.

Compadrazgo: (coparenthood) A ritual kin relationship involving the baptisimal rites of the Catholic Church, which has quasi religious sanctions in Latino cultures. Part of the extended family system.

Compadre: (godfather) The male correspondent in the baptisimal rites.

Comadre: (godmother) The female correspondent in the baptisimal ceremony.

Ahijado: (godson) Male who is baptized.

Ahijada: (goddaughter) Female who is baptized.

Tía: (aunt)

Tío: (uncle)

Sobrino: (nephew)

Sobrina: (niece)

Primo: (cousin) Male, primo-hermano (first cousin)

Prima: (cousin) Female, prima-hermana (first cousin)

Madre: (mother) Mother with the right inflection of the voice can be used to curse your mother. Other preferable terms are: mama, papa, mami, papi viejo (male), vieja (female) The last two terms translate to old man and old woman.

Abuelo: (grandfather)

Abuela: (grandmother)

Bisabuelo: (great grandfather)

Bisabuela: (great grandmother)

Cuñado: (brocher-in-law)

Cuñada: (sister-in-law)

Suegro: (father-in-law)

Suegra: (mother-in-law)

Tía politica: (aunt by marriage)

Tío politico: (uncle by marriage)

Malcriado: (badly brought up, spoiled, bratish, rude)

Mujeriego: (skirt chaser, womanizer, roue)

Solterón: (a confirmed bachelor)

Soltero: (single male)

Soltera: (single female)

Casado: (married male)

Casada: (married female)

Nena: (term applied to girl)

Bebe: (baby) term applied to both male and female newborns.

Edad del pavo: (age of the turkey) adolescence

Yerno: (son-in-law)

Yerna: (daughter-in-law)

Pariente: (anyone to whom you are very distantly related

Pegar (le) los cuernos: (to put horns on) cockholded husband; a man whose wife has betrayed him.

Cabrón: (he-goat) term used to denote a man whose wife has betrayed him, but does nothing about it. Not to be used publically or said to a man, its use is considered very vulgar and cause for a fight.

Ponerle una querida: to keep a mistress

Puta: (whore, prostitute, slut, bitch) a term used to denote a prostitute.

Mujer de la calle: (woman of the streets) whore, prostitute.

Cuero: (leather) an extremely crude and vulgar expression used to denote a prostitute. Should never be used in public or mixed company.

Divorciada: (divorced female)

Divorciado: (divorced male)

Viuda: (widow)

Viudo: (widower)

Molestar: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Ultrajar: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Hacerle el daño: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Madrasta: (step mother)

Padrasto: (step father)

Don: (a term of respect used for an older male. Used with the first name only - i.e. Don Pepe)

Doña: (a term of respect used for an older female, i.e. Dona Pepa)

Señor: (mister)

Jovencito: (young man)

Jovencita: (young woman)

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MACHISMO AND THE VIRGINITY CULT

Definition of Terms

Machismo and the Virginity Cult are two of the most powerful socio-cultural value systems that define and dictate not only the proper roles of men and women but also the proper behavior between males and females.

Machismo defines the typical macho (man) as the absolute ruler and source of authority in the family system. He is the sole provider for that family and as such controls the money he earns. In turn, his wife is dependent on him for allowances for food, clothing, etc. This allowance may come every payday or whenever the male decides it is necessary. In relation to the children and his wife, he is the final arbitrator of arguments and administers discipline - he is the ultimate threat. In being the sole provider and in maintaining this family system, he is entitled to respeto (respect) from his wife, his children, and society at large, as un buen padre (a good father) and un buen esposo (a good husband).

Machismo implies that "men are of the streets" and "women are of the home." (El hombre es de la calle, la muyer es del hogar.) Thus, machismo also emphasizes sexual strength and worldly knowledge as badges of manhood. This implies that a man is entitled to sexual access to other females besides his wife. Temporing this view as a carefree Don Juan is the societal expectation that he will conduct such actions behind his wife's back and that he will maintain the household economically. He also has the perogative of man's personal freedom - to come and go as he sees fit. Machismo thus encourages and abets such behavior as gambling, drinking, cockfighting, billiards, and dominos as parts of those "rites of manhood." In addition, however, it puts an emphasis on the family "name" as a responsibility of the male to keep as clean as possible. To ensure this, an elaborate system of checks and restrictions has been set down for the behavior of females of the household, specifically, young virgins, so that the family is given respeto by the community at large.

Machismo also views men as inherently superior to women both physically and intellectually. It defines women as having an inborn weakness and being susceptable to succumbing to temptation. As such, she is in need of a male to guarantee that she is protected at all times.

The Virginity Cult, on the other hand, demands that a girl be pure and clean in mind, that she be ignorant of sexual matters and that she guard her virginity until she marry a wiser, wordly male (macho) who will teach her about her sexual duties to him. To insure this the young girl is sexually segregated at an early age (6-7 years old) from the company of boys and chaperoned throughout her courtship by a male family member or other older female.

Upon marriage, a "good girl" becomes a "good wife" by making the focus of her attention and devotion, her home. This includes being a good and clean housekeeper, providing a role model for her children of absolute virtue, and by not resisting her husband's sexual advances. She is viewed as a model mother when her children adore her (specially the boys) and she shows absolute obedience to her husband's dictates. Clearly then, these two terms (Machismo and Virginity Cult) outline a social order in which the self sacrifice of the female is contrasted with the male's freedom.

(See the end of this section for definitions of other terms in the following discussion.)

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PUERTO RICAN CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

by
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There are a variety of alternatives to which basic questions and challenges can be answered in a given culture. These answers enable a person to define his cultural beliefs and simultaneously define himself. One can assume that within a given culture, life is lived out according to commonly accepted patterns which give people a sense of unity. It is these patterns that identify the group and its unity.

In the Puerto Rican culture, the typical adult is raised in a traditional, firmly structured world which is based on respect for a supreme being, for the hierarchy in the community, and for his/her parents. There is a promise of life after death, an established order among living men, and a strong belief that each person has his/her "place" in that system. Specifically, being a man means having a keen sense of one's inner worth as an individual, exercising authority firmly over his wife and children at home, and receiving respect from people younger than oneself. It is also fidelity to deep family loyalties, and a preference of family over others, and demonstrating mastery over those types of work which are a man's responsibility. In a similar sense, being a woman means being responsible, faithful, submissive, obedient, and humble. Traditionally, the woman's role has been firmly established around the affairs of the home; she has been obligated by social custom to obey her husband and maintain a subordinate role to his desires. Most Puerto Rican women have been chastely and religiously brought up, and while they are taught to seek a man who is "serio" (serious), they are generally told that love and sex are intimate and almost unspeakable acts governed by God and man.

Keeping all this in perspective, one realizes immediately that since specific cultural values are integrated into the thinking processes of the individual from birth, it presents an even harder obstacle for Puerto Ricans to overcome in the milieu of the American culture.

Puerto Rican cultural traditions and customs fall within the following four major areas: (A) the Puerto Rican Family (B) Family Values (C) Religion and (D) Migration to the Mainland.

A. The Puerto Rican Family

Puerto Ricans firmly believe that at the heart of their culture is the family. The structure of family life is believed to have been significantly influenced by Spanish colonization, slavery, and the american influence on the economy. Of these, the Spanish colonial culture had the greatest effect on family life resulting in the following features:

1. Pre-eminence of the Family: The Puerto Rican is conscientious about his role in the family. He believes in his importance in terms of his family role.

   His world consists of a pattern of intimate personal relationships, and these basic relationships are those of his family. Everything that makes him an individual, his confidence, sense of security, and identity, are perceived in relationship to the rest of his family. For example, the dominant tendency in the Puerto Rican family is to speak Spanish. Traditionally, the husband is the head of the family and provider who is looked after by the wife. The parents have some say in the selection of spouses for their children (though the American influence has taken away a lot of this liberty). The father is respected by all, the wife is faithful, the son obedient, and the daughter virtuous.

Other examples showing the importance of family roles are in courtship, where marriage is still considered much more a union of two families than in the U.S., in the deep sense of family obligation whereby one's primary responsibilities are to family and friends, and also in the use of "names," where the individual uses two family names along with his given name.[2]

2. The "Machismo" Concept of Man: A second feature of the Puerto Rican family is the role of authority exercised by the man. To be a "macho" (a virile male)[3] is one of the dominant values inculcated into the male child and which continues to be valued in manhood. It is a trait supported by permissiveness in behavior and sometimes narrowly linked with sexual potency. It is believed that man is innately superior to woman, and he expects to exercise his authority in the family. He often feels free to make decisions without consulting his wife, and he expects to be obeyed when he gives commands. It is important to note that in contrast to the role of cooperation and companionship which women usually fulfill in American families, Puerto Rican women have a definite subordinate role (though it is in the process of being redefined because of an emerging middle class). The traditional role of women is well defined and ordinarily maintained as subordinate to the authority of the male. For example, women until recently would not make decisions regarding consulting a doctor or seeking medical treatment for the children without first obtaining her husband's permission.

   Nonetheless, it should be noted that even though Puerto Rican men hold this innate superior position over their women, women still have subtle ways of influencing their men. The influence of mother over son is particularly strong in the Puerto Rican culture.

   Another example of man's superior position is often reflected in what Americans call the "double standard." As in most cultures, there is a definite distinction between a "good" woman (one protected as a virgin until marriage and then after marriage as a wife and mother) and a "bad" woman (one available for man's enjoyment). Puerto Ricans express extreme concern over their women. Both fathers and brothers feel a strong obligation to protect them. On the other hand, a great deal of freedom is granted the males. It is expected, and often encouraged, for a boy to have sexual experiences with women before marriage. A boy is raised and encouraged "to be a man" and to venture out, while a girl is sheltered progressively within the family as she matures.

3. Compadrazgo: Another influence implanted by the Spanish colonizers is the institution of "compadres."[4] These are people who are companion parents with the natural parents of the child (godparents). The man is the "compadre" and the woman is the "comadre." Compadres are often relatives of the child. They constitute a network of ritual kinship and can be sponsors for baptism, confirmation, or marriage. There are occasions when intense friendships lead men and women to consider themselves compadres or comadres. Generally, they have a deep sense of obligation to each other for economic assistance, support, and encouragement.

Just as Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico influenced the Puerto Rican family as it is today, so did slavery and the U.S. role in the economic development of Puerto Rico. Slavery, as in any other culture, had a devastating effect on family life. The instability and the impermanence of the slave family which was bought, sold, and exchanged with no regard for the permanent family union, created many broken families. Spanish colonial tradition did provide some advantages to women and the resultant children of extramarital relationships, since Spaniards felt "morally bound" to the responsibility of caring and providing for those they consorted with.

Though overall, the U.S. considers itself instrumental in helping Puerto Rico attain its freedom from colonial rule and achieve its autonomy, the influence of the United

States on the island's cultural development has had some negative effects. For example, the educational system was controlled by Americans after the annexation, and modified after the American system. The educational system was not surrendered to the Puerto Rican government until 1948. During these years, Puerto Rican children were subjected to teachers who knew little or no Spanish, and who for the most part had a total disregard for the traditional Puerto Rican culture. Equally glaring in its effect was the religious influence from the mainland. Although Catholicism was deeply rooted in the Spanish tradition on the island, American Catholic personnel, Protestant denominations, and Pentecostal sects implanted a strong American influence on the religious life. This, coupled with Puerto Ricans returning from the mainland with strong influences of mainland culture, negatively affected the family relationship.

A final note about the Puerto Rican family. It is important to point out that in Puerto Rico, unlike the continental United States, no family is alone. Each is widely extended and each supports its various members. The following four types are commonly thought of within the overall structure:

1. The "extended" family: those families with strong bonds and frequent interaction among a wide range of natural or ritual kin. Grandparents, parents, and children may live in the same household, or they may have separate households, but visit often. (This type is the most obvious source of strength and support.)
2. The "nuclear" family: the conjugal unit of father, mother, and children, not living close to relatives and with weak bonds to the extended family. (In response to social and economic development, their numbers are increasing.)
3. The "combined" family of other unions: among Puerto Ricans, combinations of father, mother, their children and the children of another union or unions of husband or wife is a common phenomenon. One may know of many children with different names living in one household. The siblings consider themselves just as related by marriage as if by blood.
4. The "mother-based" family: this type, mentioned previously, occurs when the mother has had children by one or more men, but does not have a permanent male consort in the home, or has several children by one spouse and is divorced.

B. Family Values -- Aspects, Influences, and Meanings

There are so-called "official" values that have long been attributed to Puerto Rican society, and they include: a strong emphasis upon respect and dignity, a fatalistic outlook, an assumption of male superiority, and a humanistic view of the world. It is said that some of the consequences of these values have resulted in Puerto Ricans having a tendency towards being individualistic, easy-going in social affairs, hospitable, loving and tolerant of children, and willing to break small rules in order to do favors for sentimental reasons. Some aspects of these values which make up Puerto Rican family life and that have influenced their development have already been mentioned. Because of the broad range, only the outstanding values will be discussed.

1. Personalismo: This is the basic value of Puerto Rican culture. It is the belief in the innate worth and uniqueness of each person, and is a form of individualism which focuses on the inner importance of the person and his goodness or worth of himself. It is the value that allows each Puerto Rican to feel "dignidad" (inner dignity).

> In a two class society where little mobility was possible, a man was born into his social and economic position...he defined his value in terms of the qualities and behavior that made a man good or respected in the social position where he found himself.[5]

There are different aspects of "personalismo" and one readily allows a Puerto Rican to trust his destiny to the judgment of some other strong-willed "father figure" who is more charismatic than he. This aspect allows a man to demand obedience from one's inferiors but also permits the "master" to obey his superiors. This creates a tendency to rely heavily on persons in authority as well as faith in person-to-person contact.

Puerto Ricans agree that there is no substitute for a face-to-face meeting.

2. Respeto: A man, or for that matter any person within the Puerto Rican society, is thought to be worthy of "respeto" (respect), but the element of "respeto" which is usually communicated in a very subtle way, concerns the person's basic right to a self. Using this universal ritual idiom, all Puerto Ricans may make statements to each other concerning their ceremonial and moral worth as social persons. Although at times, representatives of different segments of society converge upon one another, the elements of "respeto" and its associated ceremonial order is one of the number of ways which allow Puerto Ricans to "tune in" upon a common network. In Puerto Rico, men treat each other with more formality than one finds in the U.S. Any "falta de respeto" (lack of respect) towards another violates his dignity. Perhaps due to the values of respect and dignity, Puerto Ricans are a sensitive people, who avoid direct confrontations if someone's feelings may be injured.

3. Humanismo: Humanism is another trait linked with Puerto Rico's roots. In Latin America, nations have been led by either strong armed military caudillos (the macho) or eminent intellectuals (the humanist). Puerto Rico has traditionally prized the man who combines "dash" with "intellect."

4. Sentimentalismo: Puerto Ricans possess a sentimental quality which is strong and visible. This does not mean that Puerto Rico is a paradise of soft-hearted saints, but there is a sentimentality that ameliorates personal conflicts and makes many small favors possible.

5. A Sense of the Spiritual: The Puerto Rican generally has a spiritual sense, and believes that the soul is more important than the body. He tends to think of life in terms of ultimate values and spiritual goals, and expresses a willingness to sacrifice material satisfactions for them.

6. Fatalism: Associated with the spiritual value is the deep sense of fatalism. It is a belief that life is controlled by supernatural forces, that one should be resigned to misfortune, and that one should rejoice to good fortune. This quality leads to the acceptance of many events considered inevitable, and softens the personal guilt of failure.

7. Sense of Hierarchy: The Puerto Rican has always accepted the concept of a hierarchical society. Part of this is a result of the two-class system where its members never conceived of a world in which they could move out of the position from which they were born. The hierarchical concept contributed to the belief that a person's worth was distinct from a person's position in the social structure.

C. Religion

Religion has played a focal role in Puerto Rican culture and has affected the experience of immigrants who have come to the United States. There are three religious ideologies that have come to the United States. There are three religious ideologies that have influenced most Puerto Ricans: Catholicism, Protestantism, and Spiritualism.

1. Catholicism: Like all of the Spanish empire, "Roman Catholicism" was brought to the island with the conquest. To a Spaniard, the Catholic faith was the one true faith, the most important thing for which a man should live or die, and the most important gift he could give to another. The conquistadors were as determined to pass their religion on to the indigenous people of Borinquen just as they were to colonize the island and incorporate the Spanish language into their lives.

   Being a Catholic in the Latin American sense is different from being Catholic in the United States. In the U.S., being Catholic is a personal choice or commitment, but Latins believe there is a sense of identity based on their religion because it is part of the community of which they are part. Two important observations need to be made about the style of Catholicism found in Puerto Rico. First, Puerto Ricans perceive of their religious life in the same sense as they do their family: that it consists of close, intimate and personal relationships. In this instance though, the relationships are with the saints, the Blessed Virgin, and various manifestations of the Lord. They pray to them, light candles to them, build shrines in their homes to them, and they expect favors and protection from them in return. But this personal relationship with the saints often takes place outside the organized structure of the Church. Catholicism penetrates their lives. Even if there were no organized Church to attend, the relationship more than likely would continue.

Secondly, Catholicism and the Spanish culture were never completely absorbed by all the natives of Borinquen. Many of the indigenous peoples retained remnants of their "pre-Discovery" religious rites. In addition, African rites brought by the slaves during the early Colonial years were intermingled with some of the folk practices of the Catholics. As a result, there are practices within the culture that have un-Catholic elements of worship, but are simply considered another variety of devotion (e.g., spiritualism, mitas, and santerismo).

It is important to note that after the annexation of Puerto Rico to the United States in 1898, the steady increase of American priests and religious personnel became noticeable. The effort resulted in the establishment of a Puerto Rican Catholic Church that had a definite American character. There was no longer great emphasis on the sacraments, and the development of Catholic schools based on the American model occurred -- characteristics of the "folk religion" were obliterated, while the religious personnel, who spoke little or no Spanish, neglected the Spanish cultural traditions.

2. Protestantism: In 1898, Protestants came along with the influx of American Catholic religious personnel. Originally, the different Protestant groups agreed among themselves to avoid competition in their efforts. They proceeded to divide the island into territories, each one assigned to a particular Protestant denomination. However, when the Pentecostal sects arrived and began evangelizing, they disregarded the original agreement, and consequently penetrated all parts of the island. It seems that because of the economic changes of the island which occurred with its industrialization, a social and psychological vacuum was created in many poor Puerto Rican families. The Pentecostal congregation compensated for the loss of the traditional style of life through its ideology, and reinforced traditional moral and cultural values.

3. Spiritualism: Another aspect of religious life in Puerto Rico is the interest in spiritualism. Spiritualism is the belief that the visible world is surrounded and influenced by an invisible world which is populated by spirits. The practice is based on the belief that man can establish contact with the spirit world and use the power to influence the spirits either to the detriment of another or through a favorable action. The beliefs and practices of spiritualism are distributed throughout the society and are most often interwoven with social life to dispel tensions and anxieties.

The "espiritista" (the spiritualist, who most often is a woman) has a wide knowledge of folk practices in medicine. She recommends herbs, potions, and folk remedies for all kinds of physical and mental illnesses. Almost every Puerto Rican barrio has a "botanica," a store which sells herbs, potions, prayers, and other devices recommended by the "espiritista." The spiritualist is often the substitute for the doctor, and has the complete confidence of her clients since what she recommends is familiar, simple, and traditional. It has been suggested that spiritualists serve as psychiatrists and that spiritualism functions as an outlet for mental illness. What a psychiatrist might diagnose as mental illness is need of institutional care, a spiritualist defines as suffering from evil spirits. In this way, with the spiritualist's help, the individual can cope with the spirits that are troubling him and remain undisturbed and functional within his own community.

THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON CULTURE

The migration of Puerto Ricans from the island to the U.S. mainland is unique. It is such for a variety of reasons, but for our purposes here, it is unique because of the effect it has had on its traditions, customs, and values. The focus on this report centers upon the identity of Puerto Ricans as a group. It is this identity first molded by 400 years of Spanish colonization and then by almost 80 years of American annexation that has been most affected. Although we have shown that the Puerto Rican culture is deeply rooted in the Spanish tradition, it has been extremely affected by American standards since the turn of the century.

A number of factors contributed to migration, including population increase, economic pressure, accessible transportation, and the fact that there is no legal or political restriction on migration. For whatever reasons, their institutions have undergone a great deal of change due to the migration to the mainland. What has suffered the most from Puerto Rican migration has been the family.

Puerto Ricans are from a warm, friendly island. Family and neighbors are important to them. In the cities, they have sometimes found people to be cold and alien. They were misunderstood because of their language and customs, and they were discriminated against. The smallness of island cities nourishes the individual and keeps him from being anonymous. The lack of anonymity has tended to reinforce traditional customs and conventions. The mass migration of Puerto Ricans to U.S. cities, where they live in slums and housing projects, has caused serious social problems for them.

It has long been recognized that Puerto Ricans migrate as nuclear families. When family members moved to the mainland urban centers, the destruction of the "extended" family concept began to take effect due to distance between them. The supporting network upon which the family could always rely began to weaken.

Another serious shift in family life occurred in the traditional roles of husband and wife. Because men were either not qualified for available jobs on the mainland or simply were unable to find employment, Puerto Rican women frequently found a larger and easier marketplace for their domestic skills. Even more disturbing to some men, was the fact that women often earned higher wages than they did. The women in many families, some for the first time, were able to supplement the family income until their men could be gainfully employed or maintain an economic independence. Having their wives support them and their families was more than some Puerto Rican men could accept. As a result, many men left their families in disgrace. It was obvious that the impact of American culture on the traditional roles was devastating, and the dignity and pride of the men was even further threatened by the new role of Puerto Rican women in this country.

Additional family problems plagued the Puerto Rican migrants. Since they came from a country where children were expected to respect and obey their parents without question, Puerto Rican adults living on the mainland found it difficult to accept parental permissiveness towards their children in the mainland society. American children were taught to be self-reliant, aggressive, and competitive, while the Puerto Rican child was more submissive. The gravest problem of control became giving unmarried girls the same kind of protection they would have given them in Puerto Rico. To allow a daughter to go out unprotected, for any reason, was something the men in the family considered immoral. The tensions created between parents and children were extremely difficult to manage. The parents tried to teach Puerto Rican culture in their homes, but Puerto Rican children were being brought up in American schools and were enjoying their new found freedom. They rebelled against the old-world attitudes of their parents.

It was against this backdrop that drug addiction became one of the major problems affecting inner city Puerto Rican families. As the disintegration of traditional values and customs began to take place, the increased use of narcotics became more apparent. The Puerto Rican family was in no way prepared to face what seemed like insurmountable economic, vocational, educational, and linguistic pressures. As a solution to escape the accompanying social and psychological problems, many Puerto Ricans joined the ranks of drug users.

Although drug addiction is a major problem in the Puerto Rican community, reliable statistics as to their exact numbers are not readily available. Until recently, standardized formats were not used in collection data systems and, consequently, the number of Puerto Rican users were being merged into the Black, White, and Hispanic groupings.

Drug literature on Puerto Ricans is scant, however, some of those articles attempting to identify and examine causes of drug usage and possible solutions for its treatment are included in the Advanced Reading Assignments.

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THE MODERN SPIRIT OF SANTERIA

by
Luis Zalamea

This is a reprint of an article that appeared in "Nuestro" Magazine, a national magazine for Latinos, in March 1978. The article was written by Luis Zalamea who is a Colombian-born writer that specialized in travel. He has also had a novel published in English and four books published in Spanish.

Perhaps it was the bountiful nature of a sunny, yet crisp, February morning in Florida, or the frozen daiquiris we shared at a small bar in the heart of Little Havana's Eighth Street. But a strange bond of comradeship began to develop between myself and this troubled Cuban businessman whose first name was Hector. As the branch director of a construction company at a time when that industry was hurting in South Florida, Hector was being browbeaten by his board of directors to the brink of resignation. So he had finally agreed to take his wife's advice and turn to the mystical religion of santeria for help. He had already followed a few preliminary instructions from the santera, or priestess. Now he was about to meet with her to proceed with his own exorcism.

Exorcism made its way from Roman Catholicism into the santeria ritual long before William Blatty wrote The Exorcist. Indeed the interest in the occult that is growing in the U.S. is something that is taken thoroughly for granted among thousands of Latinos. Far from being a fading vestige of the past, santeria - like such distantly related practices as curanderismo - is getting more and more popular. And the values expressed through mysticism are being taken increasingly seriously by the practitioners of such "cooler" sciences as medicine and psychology. Despite all this history and growth, I was largely ignorant of the details of this mystical religion all around me.

So when a friend offered to introduce me to Hector, I accepted. Now as his 3 p.m. appointment with the santera grew near, he admitted he was apprehensive and asked me to come along. I had heard that santeria, unlike Haitian voo-doo, accepts the curious with no distinction from the faithful. Reassured on this point by my newfound friend, I agreed to go.

The temple was a handsome ranch-type residence in one of the quietest streets of southwest Miami, distinguished from neighboring homes only by a discreet gold star over the carport. The whole place, especially the inner rooms, had a strange and peaceful coolness which contrasted with the afternoon heat. The santera, a handsome and lithe mulata in her early forties, acknowledged my presence with a friendly smile and a flowery greeting, then gave her full attention to Hector as she led him to the first of several altars consecrated to the Orishas, the most powerful gods and goddesses of santeria.

Several plates were filled with candy, pieces of white corn cake and coconut meat. "These are the favorite foods of the Orishas, and it's a way of obtaining their intervention and help," the santera explained to Hector - who was looking strangely white, with tiny traces of perspiration on his forehead. Then she signaled for us to follow her to a smaller room in the back of the house and motioned Hector to sit in a straight chair. I edged my way into the gloom of a corner, leaning against the wall, and she made no further reference to my presence.

First she took four small pieces of coconut rind, which she tossed to the floor. Some landed with the white side up, others with the skin on top. This divining system, she told him, is used by priests and priestesses to ask their saint-guides to answer any questions their inquirers may pose, and also to provide solutions to their immediate problems. The slight woman studied the rinds and then said gravely: "Everything seems to be disintegrating in your hands. I see much trouble in your work. There are five men who are against you."

Hector had a five-man board of directors. I could see his skepticism turn into uneasy respect. His posture egged her on, and she threw the rinds once more. Again she diagnosed: "A powerful enemy. A spell has been cast." Her small mouth turned to a reassuring smile: "Our religion is a positive force, though, only to do good. So we will exert this force to neutralize the evil spell. We will need the help of the most powerful Orishas: Obatala, the all-mighty God of purity, whom we shall invoke to rid you of evil influences; Eshu, who has the key to every door and is the guardian of every road and whose permission must be secured before obtaining the help of other Orishas; and Chango, god of fire and thunder, who will give you strength and cunning for your struggle."

Hector now looked relaxed, as if suddenly he had yielded up his problems. And even though the santera left us alone while she went to prepare various items for the exorcism, he said nothing to me; he merely stared at a far corner smiling sweetly. When she returned, she spread a white mat in front of Hector, and placed on it a cauldron with knives, a few small implements, a dish with tiny dark stones and a large machete with a red handle, which she placed ceremoniously against the wall. Then she set several thick candles around the edges.

She bowed several times and poured a sweet-smelling perfume into his cupped hands, then annointed his forehead with it, saying, "My son, with the permission of your Guardian Angel, I pray that your hands, your ears, your eyes and your nose - in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit - shall not touch, see, hear or smell evil. I now cast away any evil spirit that may put difficulties on your road to good. And lastly and most special, I pray to your mouth against any potions that may harm your good state of health, detain your progress, or make you obey the will of others."

I had an enormous sense of relief that this was the end, but then she motioned him to kneel at the mat before the cauldron, and, disappearing briefly, she brought back a live red chicken which she ceremoniously "presented" over his head, chest and shoulders. The santera commanded in a voice without inflection, "Take the chicken and offer it to Orishas." As if in a trance, Hector reached for the sullen bird which, probably drugged, did not offer resistance. "Now make your request to the gods," she added.

He remained for a long time clutching the chicken. Then, without warning, she produced a small, sharp knife and deftly cut the chicken's throat; Hector held on as if glued to the contracting body. Leading his hands with her own, she aimed the flow of bursting blood from the animal's neck to bathe the cauldron, the machete and all the other implements. I felt somewhat nauseated, and was seized with wonder that the two of us - educated, responsible men - were in this situation. But the woman's voice, which now was deeply guttural, compelled his allegiance as she spoke in a strange tongue: "Xango mani cote Xango mani cote olle masa Xango mani cote mani cote alle masa Xango ari bari cote Xango...."

He watched, fascinated, as she poured honey over the bloody cauldron and machete and then covered the sticky mixture with feathers plucked from the dead chicken. Then she removed the mat, carefully cleansed the floor of any remnants of blood from the sacrifice, and motioned him back into the wooden chair. This time, she prepared a paste of white corn, coconut meat and dende oil, again annointed his hands and forehead and spoke in the strange tongue: "Illa mi ile oro illa mi ile oro vira ye yeye oyo ya mala ye icu oche ocho...." Then she took a drink of rum and spat it out, spraying the candles and other ceremonial objects, and finally threw the coconut rinds again. They all came up on the white side.

"A very good omen, my son," she said. "Now you will vanquish your enemies and their evil designs. The Orishas are pleased with your sacrifice." She shoved the enamel plate closer to him, and he put into it an envelope which he had obviously prepared beforehand. He did not tell me how much was in it.

Three days later, Hector flew to Tampa for a special session with his five-man board of directors. In his pocket, he carried a necklace of red and black peony beads and a small crucifix made of the magic wood of the ceiba tree; the santera had given it to him earlier as a talisman. At the meeting, he delivered an impassioned speech defending his policies and

and received a strong commitment from the majority. With it came a new contract.

I've seen him once again, and we spoke only briefly of the experience. He theorizes that the whole thing is psychological, that the powers of the santera are nothing but the psychic energy which can be transmitted from one being to another, and be transformed - as in his personal case - into self-confidence and positive action.

He is on top right now, and attention to the Orishas is relegated to his wife. But I suppose at his next reverse he will return to the santera and once again place his faith in her powers as millions of others have done in the past and will continue to do.

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MODULE VIII - ENDNOTES

1. Cordasco and Bucchioni, 1968, p. 125

2. "Technonomy," as it is called, generally means that two family names are used together, e.g., *Roberto Garcia Gonzalez*. *Garcia* is the name of Roberto's father's father; *Gonzalez* is the name of his mother's father. (If the man is to be addressed by one family, the first name is used, but not the second.) The wife of Roberto writes her name *Maria Rivera de Garcia*. She retains the family name of her father's father, *Rivera*, and she adopts, usually with the "de," the first name of her husband, *Garcia*.

3. In the Velazquez Dictionary "macho" is defined as being among other things: "1. A male animal; in particular, a he-mule or a he-goat. 2. A masculine plant...11. masculine, vigorous, robust male." The noun "macho" is related to the verb "machacar," "To pound, firmly and strongly...to believe in God firmly and sincerely," and the verb "machetear," "to beget more males than females."

4. It is possible that this custom could have been *reinforced* by the Spaniards since the Indians had a similar one called "guaitiao." Two people became related by blood by guaitiao. They made a small cut on the wrists and crossed both wrists so that the blood of one mixed with the blood of the other. In that way they became guaitiaos or "blood brothers."

5. Fitzpatrick, Joseph P., *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland*, Prentice-Hall (NJ), 1971, p. 90.

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M O D U L E IX

THE "NUYORICAN" ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPING CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

THE ARTS

The Arts

The Puerto Rican people in the United States (often called Nuyoricans) represent a socio-historical phenomenon which emerged as a result of the relationship of the United States and Puerto Rico. Historically, this process is called a "diaspora of nations," a process by which an entire group separates from a nation in search of a livelihood, settling in other regions. In the course of this separation, these settlers lose their old contacts and acquire new habits, new tastes and possibly a new language.

The Puerto Ricans in the United States are related to both Puerto Rico and the United States. Real understanding of the Puerto Rican national minority requires appreciation of the duality of this relationship. Puerto Ricans in the United States are developing cultural forms particular to Puerto Ricans, or Nuyoricans.

A multitude of Puerto Ricans have risen in the ranks of the American culture: dancer-actresses such as Chita Rivera, Rita Moreno, Miriam Colon and Carla Pinza; actors such as Jose Ferrer, the late Freddy Prinz and Liz Torres; opera singers Goaciella Rivera, and Justino Diaz; the late cellist Pablo Casals, etc. In the literary arts we find Piri Thomas, Pedro Pietri, Adalberto Lopez, Yoruba Guzman, and many others.

In the area of poetry, one of these in particular has produced works that truly reflect the New York-Puerto Rican experience. In the poem, "The Puerto Rican Obituary," Pedro Pietri captures the pathos, misery, oppression and frustration of a Puerto Rican ghetto. His monotone staccato recital of the poem allows the listener to feel the helplessness and hopelessness of the people in the poem. To visualize this particular piece one has to take a walk in the South and East Bronx, or the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. In the areas of El Barrio, the Lower East Side, you will see, hear and smell the humanity that daily smolders, churns, and fumes under the grey, smog-ridden air of New York City. The poem, although written in the 1960's, still movingly reflects life in these areas. This no-man's land has been abandoned to freeze and crack in the sub-zero weather of winter with small children and the aged huddled in unheated livingrooms with ovens turned on to keep their fragile bodies and stunted minds from bursting into millions of shards of broken glass, their souls blasted to hell by the callousness of slum lords and anonymity of a city bureaucracy. The sweltering summer to be whiled away, not in sunny beaches, clean fresh air, camps or vacations in Florida, but in an abandoned tenement basement with a needle full of heroin and serum hepatitis to numb the rat of cold despair that gnaws away at the center of their souls.

MUSIC

Music: Salsa

A more positive and optimistic cultural development in the Puerto Rican-Latino barrios of the United States is the phenomenon of salsa. The word salsa translates literally into "hot sauce." When one refers to a person, song, work of art or dance as having "salsa," it is the equivalent of the Black American expression "soul."

The "salsa" movement takes the Afro-Caribbean music and dance heritage that came from Africa to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Latin

America and merges it with the influences of American soul-rock, jazz and other forms to truly reflect the Puerto Rican-Latino experience of New York City.

This cultural development has served as an anchor for those Nuyoricans who were probably born and raised in the U.S. and speak very little Spanish, but who are vehemently trying to find, maintain, and defend the roots of their parents' and grandparents' days. It is a cultural renaissance that goes beyond the *salsa* concept. It is the feeling of *oneness* with the sisters and brothers in Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Latin America; the oneness of *la raza* (the race). *Que viva la musica*. "Long live the music."

NUYORICAN ASPECTS OF THE MAINLAND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

Frank Espada
November, 1978

Although most first generation immigrants never really "left" the Island, that is, they always believed that "some day" they would return to their beloved "isla," this was certainly not the case for two other groups within the New York Puerto Rican community. The first group became known as the "bridge" generation -- those who although born in Puerto Rico, migrated early in life (usually under 10) and were raised and educated in New York. These individuals had the obvious advantage (over the old folks, who were already adults when they migrated) of being truly bi-lingual and bi-cultural: they had experienced Island traditions and culture and they understood and, in many ways, accepted American modes. The importance of this "bridge" generation cannot be over-emphasized. They became the "wedge" that began to open doors for the next group: the mainland born Puerto Ricans.

This second (and third) generation of Puerto Ricans differed in marked ways from their Island-born parents. They were more independent, more willing to question formerly accepted authority and institutions, and certainly a lot more aggressive. They accepted English as their first language (Spanish was discouraged in school until a relatively short time ago, with the advent of bi-lingual education), with the resulting inability to speak Spanish fluently. And they did not appreciate the first generation's submissiveness to authority (the teacher, the doctor, the policeman, the "well-educated," the wealthy) and their attitudes regarding some traditional Puerto Rican values.

In addition, the normal and historical rebellion of the second generation of an immigrant group to the old country ways was further exacerbated by the rapidly changing social conditions of the late 50's and 60's. These were turbulent and difficult times, - the social revolution, most commonly identified with the black community, affected the Puerto Rican just as sharply, perhaps bringing about more significant changes than even in the black community.

Essentially, the second generation freed itself from several traditional elements of the culture (machismo; undue respect for authority; unwarranted acceptance of the established order; fatalism) thereby sowing the seed of a new Puerto Rican mainland culture.

The term Nuyorican is, for lack of a better one, what best describes this new, hybrid culture. Initially the term was coined in Puerto Rico, where it had (and still has) a mildly derogatory meaning. A Nuyorican is looked down upon for essentially the same reasons which created the new culture. However, the worst aspect of this new person (according to Islanders) was the inability to handle the Spanish language. That is an unforgiveable sin.

However, and possibly as a result of this rejection (for Nuyoricans were not really Puerto Ricans), this new generation identified Puerto Rican in an almost fanatical way. They became the militants of the 60's, carrying the issue of independence of the Island as a banner to their legitimacy. And they were here to stay. The dreams of someday returning to a small plot of land on the side of a beautiful mountain in Puerto Rico died with their parents. And Although there is a reverse migration pattern (a back to the Island phenomena), it is the old folks who are returning. The Nuyorican is not only here to stay, he/she has been at the center of a dramatic diaspora which has taken place primarily during this decade, and which has made this community a truly national group. The 1980 Census will show Puerto Rican communities of 10,000 or more in over 60 cities across the land. In many of these cities Nuyoricans are in leadership positions, veterans of the struggles in New York City. In effect, the term -

Nuyorican - has, in important ways become a state of mind rather than place, for it symbolizes the new, aggressive, resourceful, stubborn and hardy new breed of Puerto Ricans who have shed characteristics in the culture which are inimical to survival in this country while retaining some of the Island culture: personalismo, dignidad, respeto, compasion - invididualism, dignity, respect, compassion. The "ay bendito"[1] culture has spawned the "viva yo"[2] generation.

But, they face old problems as well as new challenges. The pressures are immense, sometimes impossible: the Puerto Rican adolescent has the highest suicide rate of any comparable age group in the country; the rate of drop-out (or push-outs) from high school is the highest of any age group; many become addicted (10 times as many as mainland whites); many die premature and violent deaths.

But they also overcome: they are the backbone of a purely Nuyorican cultural expression: salsa music, which has achieved national acceptance (in the west coast they publish a salsa top-ten list); they are becoming prominent in the arts, the theatre, the law and the human service field. And they are slowly rising to positions of leadership in politics and civic affairs.

This new generation, however, has undoubtedly drifted further away from the Island culture. Some have begun to talk about a "divided nation." There is little doubt in anyone's mind that there are significant differences in perspective, in approaches to issues and in values between, say, an Island-born and educated lawyer from a "good family" (middle or upper class) who had nothing to worry about except passing grades in school, and a second generation ghetto Puerto Rican, who had to struggle just to survive and who made it through college and law school on sheer strength of will and determination. The fact of the matter seems to be that this is the usual pattern rather than an isolated case.

The coming issue, the dialogue which many feel must be joined, is the one examining whether or not we have a divided nation, whether in fact the chasm is irreparable. Many feel it is, that another generation will finally cut the last final strands to a beautiful culture that could not survive this hostile land.

TAPE SCRIPT

Puerto Rican Obituary

Puerto Rico Is A Beautiful Place / Puerriquenos Are A Beautiful Race

Pedro Pietri

They worked
They were always on time
They were never late
They never spoke back
When they were insulted
They worked
They never took days off
that were not on the calendar
They never went on strike
without permission
They worked
Ten days a week
And were only paid for five
They worked
They worked
They worked
And they died
They died broke
They died owing
They never died knowing
What the front entrance
of the First National Bank looks like

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
And will die tomorrow
Passing their bill collectors
On the next of kin
All died
Waiting for the Garden of Eden
To open up again
under new management
All died
Dreaming about America
Waking them up in the middle of
 the night
Screaming: Mira! Mira:
Your name is on the winning
 lottery ticket
For one hundred thousand dollars
All died
Hating the grocery stores
That sold them make-believe steaks
And bullet proof rice and beans
All died waiting dreaming and dating

Dead Puerto Ricans
Who never knew they were Puerto Ricans
Who never took a coffee break
From the ten commandments
To KILL KILL KILL
The landlords of their cracked skulls
And communicate with their Latino souls

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
From their nervous breakdown streets
Where the mice live like millionaires
And the people do not live at all
Are dead and were never alive

Juan
Died waiting for his number to hit
Miguel
Died waiting for the welfare check
To come and go and come again
Milagros
Died waiting for her 10 children
To grow up and work
So she could quit working
Olga
Died waiting for a five dollar raise
Manuel
Died waiting for his supervisor to
drop dead
So that he could get a promotion

Is a long ride
From Spanish Harlem

Where they were buried
First the train
And then the bus
And the cold cuts for lunch

We know your spirit is able
Death is not dumb and disable
RISE TABLE RISE TABLE

Juan
Miguel

Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
And will die again tomorrow
Hating fighting and stealing
Broken windows from each other
Practicing a religion without a roof
The old testament
The new testament
According to the gospel
Of the Internal Revenue
The judge and jury and executioner
Protector and internal bill collector

Secondhand shit for sale
Learn how to say: Como Esta Usted
and you will make a fortune

They are dead
They are dead
and will not return from the dead
Until they stop neglecting
The art of their dialogue
for broken English lessons
to impress the mister Goldsteins
who keep them employed
as lavaplatos porters messenger
boys
Factory workers maids stock clerks
Shipping clerks assistant mailroom
Assistant, assistant, assistant,
assistant
To the assistant, assistant lavalplatos
and automatic smiling doorman
for the lowest wages of the ages
and rages when you demand a raise
because its against the company policy
to promote SPICS SPICS SPICS

Juan
Died hating Miguel because Miguel's
Used car was in better condition
Than his used car

Miguel
Died hadint Milagros because Milagros
had a color television set
and he could not afford one yet
Milagros
Died hating Olga because Olga
made five dollars more on the same job

Olga
Died hating Manuel because Manuel
Had hit the numbers more times than
she had hit the numbers

Manuel
Died hating all of them
Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Because they all spoke broken English
More fluently than he did

and now they are together
In the main lobby of the void
addicted to silence
Off limits to the wind
Confine to worm supremacy

In Long Island cemetery
This is the goovy hereafter
The protestant collection box
was talking so loud and proud about

Here lies Juan
Here lies Miguel
Here lies Milagros
Here lies Olga
Here lies Manuel
Who died yesterday today
and will die again tomorrow
Always broke
always owing
never knowing
that they are beautiful people
never knowing
the geography of their complexion

PUERTO RICO IS A BEAUTIFUL PLACE
PUERTORRIQUENOS ARE A BEAUTIFUL RACE

and the flowers
that will be stolen
when visiting hours are over
Is very expensive
Is very expensive
But they understand
Their parents understood
Is a long non-profit ride
from Spanish Harlem
to long island cemetery

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
and will die again tomorrow
Dreaming
Clean-cut lily-white neighborhood
Puerto Ricanless scene
Thirty-thousand-dollar home
The first spics on the block
Proud to belong to a community
of gringos who want them lynched

Proud to be a long distance away
from the sacred phrase: Que Pasa

These dreams
They empty dreams
from the make-believe bedrooms
their parents left them
are the after-effects
of television programs
about the ideal
white american family
with black maids
and latino janitors
who are well trained
to make everyone
and their bill collectors
laugh at them
and the people they represent

Juan
died dreaming about a new car
Miguel
died dreaming about new anti-poverty programs
Milagros
died dreaming about a trip to Puerto Rico
Olga
died dreaming about real jewelry
Manual died dreaming about the irish sweepstakes
They all died
like a hero sandwich dies
in the garment district
at twelve o'clock in the afternoon
social security number to ashes
union dues to dust

They knew
they were born to weep
and keep the morticians employed
as long as they pledge allegiance
to the flag that wants them destroyed
They saw their names listed
in the telephone directory of destruction
They were trained to turn
the other cheek by newspapers
that mispelled mispronounced
and misunderstood their names
and celebrated when death came

They were born dead
and they died dead

Is time
to visit Sister Lopez again
the number one healer
and fortune card dealer
in Spanish Harlem
She can communicate
with your late relatives
for a reasonable fee
Good news is guaranteed

Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
Those who love you want to know
the correct number to play
Let them know this right away
Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
Now that your problems are over
and the world is off your shoulders
help those who you left behind
find financial peace of mind
Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
If the right number we hit
all our problems will split
and we will visit your grave
on every legal holiday
Those who love you want to know
the correct number to play
Let them know this right away

If only they
had turned off the television
and turned into their own imaginations
if only they
Had used the white supremacy bibles
for toilet paper purpose
and made their Latino souls
The only religion of their race
If only they
Had turned to the definition of the sun
After the first mental snowstorm
On the summer of their senses
If only they
Had kept their eyes open
At the funeral of their fellow employees
Who came to this country to make a fortune
And were buried without underwear

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
Will right now be doing their own thing
Where beautiful people sing
And dance and work together
Where the wind is a stranger
To miserable weather conditions
Where you do not need a dictionary
To communicate with your hermanos y hermanas
Aqui se hable espanol all the time
Aqui you salute your flag first
Aqui there are no dial soap commercials

Aqui everybody smells good
Aqui TV dinners do not have a future
Aqui the man admires desires
And never gets tired of his woman
Aqui Que Pasa Power is what's happening
Aqui to be called negrito y negrita
Means to be called LOVE

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MODULE IX - ENDNOTES

1. Ay bendito, roughly translated: Oh, I'm sorry, usually intoned compassionately, helplessly

2. Viva yo: Long live me.

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FLOATING MODULE

RACISM IN PUERTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES

HISTORICAL ROOTS

Historical Roots

Racial intermixture came to the Puerto Rican historical scene early in the process of colonization of the Island as a consequence of the absence of any females amongst early Spanish colonists and the slave environment which permitted sexual abuse of slave women by their masters.

The Spaniards, having lived under the Moors (a predominantly black North African civilization) for almost 800 years, were no strangers to interaction with people of another race, culture and religion. In those 800 years, Spaniards took Moorish women as concubines and wives, and the Moors did the same with Spanish women. (It has been written that some of the Moorish rulers of Spain had become so fair that they would have to dye their hair and beards black to be able to rule over their own people.)

When Ponce de Leon began to colonize Puerto Rico, he did so with the aid of several hundred white Spanish males. (Spanish women were later arrivals on the colonial scene, and many died during child birth due to tropical infections and disease for which they had very little natural resistance.)

The first women sexually abused were the indigenous Taino women. These unions were often forced, but when consensual, carried no legality in the eyes of the Church or the Spanish Crown. The resulting children (mestizo) having white Spanish fathers and Taino mothers, assured the survival of Taino genetic, linguistic, and cultural input; although as a race, culture and language, the Taino disappeared early in the 16th century. (By 1530, there were less than 600 pure-blooded Tainos in Puerto Rico.)

The depletion of gold on the Island led to the rise of agriculture, specifically sugar cane, as the main enterprise of the Island. A new labor force had to be found since the Spanish were too proud and haughty to indulge in any manual labor. The new source of labor was to be the thousands of hapless souls torn from their homeland in Africa. Prior to the arrival to the New World, many black women had already been raped aboard ship by the white crews and had become pregnant. In Puerto Rico they were sold to white masters who, in light of the shortage of women, also took some of these unfortunate women as concubines producing the mulatto (half Spanish - half African).

As the Island population grew, so did the varieties of skin color, hair textures, facial features, etc. Spanish born whites ruled the Island and held themselves to be superior to native born whites (criollos) and "coloreds." On the Island, there has developed a hierarchy of racial categories according to hair color, the shade of skin, and facial features where the ideal is the white racial type.

Hence, a cross between a white and a mulatto came to be called jabao (usually fair skinned with light eyes, kinky light brown hair and some black racial characteristics). This person was higher on the pecking order than a black or mulatto. A cross between an jabao and white Spanish was called jabaito (usually almost white, with fair skin, curly blonde or red hair, and some almost imperceptible traces of African ancestry). This type of person was above blacks, mulattos and jabaos. In the case of women, a jabao, often married legally and passed off as an "untainted" white. All these steps were seen as being positive, that is, the closer they got to white, the better off they were. However, when a mulatto married a full-blooded black, the offspring was called a grifo or paso atras, a backstep. A grifo has black skin, red or light brown, very kinky hair, and was stigmatized because of his/her breeding.

A "negative" vocabulary has developed which refers to many black racial characteristics in comparison to whites. For instance, obviously curly or kinky hair is referred to as pelo malo (bad hair) and straight hair as pelo bueno (good hair). Big lips are undesirable and a person possessing a bemba (big lips) is referred to as bembon (big lipped one). An obviously black person is called prieto (which said with the right inflection of voice could be a racial slur). He could also be called a cocolo (black one), mozabmique (in reference to a tribe that came to Puerto Rico - also used to name a very black crow in Puerto Rico) or angolo (another tribal reference). A cheap and worthless person is referred to as cafre (cheap), originating from the tribal name Khafir. Perhaps these racial slurs originated with slaves themselves, as most Yoruba and Mandinga refused to associate with the other tribes whom they saw as inferior.

The racial characteristics among these groups underwent tremendous cross-breeding among blacks, mulattos, jabaos, mestizos, whites, etc., to the point that there developed a person in the Island who was an intermediate type, yet unclassifiable into any of the types mentioned above. This type of person was referred to as a trigueno or tannish (the range here varied from mulatto to almost white). This label is also used in the contemporary society to refer to an obviously black person whose class or economic situation is such that you would not want to call him negro or prieto.

Although the Indians of Puerto Rico disappeared quite early, their genetic input would appear, occasionally producing an Indian-like individual (straight black hair, dark slanted eyes, copper skin, and high cheek bones). Although not truly an Indian, in Puerto Rico such an individual is called "Indio" (Indian).

Some Chinese laborers also were added to the population in the early 18th century, and anyone who resembles an Oriental is called "Chino" (Chinese). This interracial fermentation of the races has been quietly going on for five centuries and has given rise to the Puerto Ricans of today.

"NEGRO" AS LOVE TOKEN

"Negro" as a Love Token

The term negro (black) itself has lost some of its racial overtones and has become a term of endearment or love which is used by all Islanders, regardless of their color. The standard of both male and female beauty is the trigueno or triguena (olive, tannish, dark complexioned) type. A popular limerick goes: "Ay mama Ines, Ay mama Ines, toditos los negros tomamos cafe." (Oh, mother Ines, Oh mother Ines, all of us blacks like black coffee to drink.)

COLOR AND RELIGION

Color and Religion

In the area of religion, the Virgin has "taken on a tan" to the point that a popular saying asks: "Virgin de Monserrate, Virgen de Homigueros, Dime quien te ha dada tu color moreno." (Virgin of Monserrat, Virgin of Hormigueros, tell me who has given you your swarthy complexion.) In neighboring Cuba, the most adored Virgin and the patron saint of the Island is La Caridad del Cobre (Ochun in the Yoruba-Lucumi cult). She is also pictured as a dark-skinned mulatto woman with a similarly colored Christ Child floating above turbulent seas while below her are seen three fishermen. Here is a blending of race, religion, and culture.

FAMOUS BLACK PUERTO RICANS

Famous Black Puerto Ricans

In the history of the Island, a large number of both political and educational leaders were black or of black-white ancestry. Foremost on this list were Ramon Emeterio Betances, the Father of the Puerto Rican Nation (1827-1921), and Celso Barbosa (1857-1927),a doctor who served in the Cabinet of the Autonomous Government as undersecretary of Education and later formed the Statehood Republican Party. Before them came Rafael Cordero Molina (1790-1868), a shoemaker, who taught poor children free of charge. More recently, Rafael Hernandez, one of the Island's greatest 20th century singers and song writers, is also black, as is the present-day Daniel Santos. The greatest leader that Puerto Rico ever produced, Don Pedro Albizu Campos (1896-1965), known as "El Maestro," the Teacher, and leader of the Nationalist Party, was a mulatto.

A SOCIAL &
PERSONAL
ISSUE

Race as a Social and Personal Issue

The long history of racial intermarriage should have produced a society tolerant of racial differences, with equal rights of all ethnic groups. In fact, the process of intermarriage has created racial tensions, which, while not as visible as tensions on the mainland, are nevertheless real. Puerto Ricans hesitate to discuss the issue among themselves and try to ignore it.

Once slavery ended in 1873, the law opened all areas of Island society to all, regardless of color. Institutionalized racism (as seen in the United States after the Civil War) never took place in Puerto Rico. Although Ponce, Guyama, and Loiza Aldea are traditionally "black barrios" in Puerto Rico, there is no law that would prohibit a black person from this area moving into other sections of the Island where the population might be predominantly "white." However, that is not to say that Puerto Rico has no racist elements in its society. The type of racism practiced in the Island is "shade discrimination," where an elaborate and subtle system of informal or whispered social pressures places immense social and emotional pressure on the acquisition of a light complexion and the hiding of the *mancha de platano* (the stain of black ancestry). While in the United States a drop of black blood makes you black, in Puerto Rico a drop of white blood can send you up the ladder of success. The non-white person in Puerto Rico is daily confronted with the problems of an ambivalent racial identity. At least in the United States a black person is black and knows where he stands. In Puerto Rico, a black person's self-image may be negative or positive, depending on how close he *truly* is *moreno*, *trigueno* or *pardo*. Of a more formal nature, there exist in the Island certain social clubs, college fraternities, and country clubs where blacks or mulatto Puerto Ricans are not welcomed. This racism was further reinforced as the industrialization of the Island brought American companies and hotel industries that refused to hire dark-skinned Puerto Ricans in positions other than those traditionally given to blacks in the mainland United States (such as cooks, dishwashers, etc.). Curiously, historians, both Puerto Rican and American, ignore the problem of racial prejudice. They argue that any discrimination exists only in the "class" or "social" area. It is interesting to note that two proponents of such a position were prominent black Puerto Ricans (Jose Celso Barbosa and Tomas Blanco). This has led to the assumption by Americans and Puerto Ricans that all is well and that there is no racial discrimination on the Island.

As Puerto Ricans began to migrate to the mainland, the linguistic-cultural shock was even more compounded by the question of race. Many Puerto Ricans rallied around the language (Spanish) and the Island culture (ethnicity) as they attempted to avoid yet another identity crisis. Today, this unity remains fairly unshaken for most Puerto Ricans, but as the language begins to be forgotten and the acculturization process continues, the possibility of the community's adopting a more American attitude about race (black-white categories) is ever present. Also black Puerto Ricans who have become aware of the Black Pride issues of the black people in the United States may decide, for the sake of mental stability, to openly refer to themselves as Afro-Boricuas." Similarly, those Puerto Ricans who possess a light skin, or a skin light enough to pass for white, will probably merge with the greater American majority of whites. The answer to this question and its solution remain in the future. But any attempt to understand the Puerto Rican identity must address itself to this question.

RACIAL TERMINOLOGY USED IN PUERTO RICO

The following listing of popular racial expressions in Puerto Rico, when properly understood and explained, can quite accurately define racial and class attitudes (pelo malo, pelo bueno; cocolo; mejorar la sangre).

Some are pejorative in nature; most are at least uncomplimentary. Certainly, they contribute to the efforts to explode the myth of a Puerto Rico without racial prejudice, for they reflect the society's concern with the complicated issues of race and class.

ANGOLO:	Dark skinned black
BEMBA:	Thick (negroid) lips (also: BEMBON)
BLANQUITO:	A light skinned individual, usually associated with position and money.
CHINO:	Asian featured (usually slant-eyed) individual
COCOLO:	Pejorative. A very black individual (also: PRIETO)
GRIFO:	3/4 black - cross between a mulatto (see below) and a full-blooded black. Also termed: PASO ATRAS - a backward step (see mejorar la sangre)
INDIO:	Individual with some "Indian" features: bronze skin, high cheek bones, straight black hair.
TRIGUENO:	Swarthy skinned, olive complexioned individual. Used to encompass the great variety of skin shades.
MANCHA DE PLATANO:	Lit.: Plaintain stain - denotes any trace of African ancestry. (Also: RAJA DE NEGRO - "a slice of black")
EL QUE NO TIENE DINGA TIENE MANDIGA:	Lit.: He who doesn't have Dinga, has Mandinga - The Dingas and Mandingas were West African slave tribes. A reference to the universality of black ancestry in Puerto Rico.
MORENO:	Black. In New York City commonly used to refer to Mainland blacks. Also: MOLLETO (pejorative) used as a racial slur.
PELO BUENO, PELO MALO:	Lit.: Good hair, bad hair. Straight hair, considered good as opposed to "bad" hair (kinky, African).
KAFRE:	Cheap, worthless person event or object. Thought to originate in the African "KHAFIR."
JABAITO:	A light-skinned individual with some traces of black ancestry but who can almost "pass" for white.

JABAO:	Light skinned, light eyed individual but with kinky light brown hair.
MESTIZO:	Almost obsolete. Denotes individual of White/Indian ancestry.
MULATTO:	Black/White ancestry.
MOZAMBIQUE:	Pejorative. Lit.: A crow. Used to denote a very black individual.
MEJORAR LA SANGRE:	Lit.: "To improve the blood." To "step up" in racial mix by marrying someone lighter than you.

THE PREJUDICE OF HAVING NO PREJUDICE IN PUERTO RICO

by
Samuel Betances, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of identity as it relates to race and color in Puerto Rican life is very important. This article will focus on race prejudice in Puerto Rico. The myth that Puerto Rico is a kind of human relations paradise where racism is nonexistent has to be exploded. Wherever exploitation exists, racism also exists. Race prejudice is a tool of those who would exploit in order to justify and blame the victims for their condition.

To suggest that Puerto Rico is free of race prejudice is to ignore reality. To insist that one should not tell the awful truth found in Puerto Rican culture is to want unity at any cost - perhaps influenced by the notion of "my country right or wrong." Unity based on error is not lasting. Truth must be made available to the masses of people.

To suggest that it is irresponsible to debate with other Puerto Ricans, at the risk of racist Americans eavesdropping, the truth about our own hang-ups, is to take an elitist posture not conducive to trusting the will of those who depend upon us for information on which our community must decide a common fate.

As with all of the islands in the Caribbean, Puerto Rico has a history of slavery, discrimination, and race prejudice all its own. The purpose of this article is to put into perspective why it is often believed, by Americans and by Puerto Ricans themselves, that there is an absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico. (The view that Puerto Rico does not have race prejudice has been held by many students of the Island to the detriment of solving real and growing problems in Puerto Rican life.) A review of the relevant literature on the subject will reveal race prejudice in the context of the Puerto Rican sociocultural experience.

Several factors account for the mistaken attitude that no race prejudice or discrimination exists in the Island: (1) the notion that Iberian slave laws were more liberal and humane than slave laws of other nations, thus influencing the Latin Caribbean Islands to be more humane and liberal in matters of race relations to this date; (2) the belief that the absence of excessive violence and cruelty in the history of Puerto Rican race relations also indicates an absence of racism in Puerto Rico ; (3) the belief that racial factors are not significant in determining social and class patterns of discrimination; (4) the belief that prejudice and race tolerance cannot exist simultaneously in the same family or culture - thus, the citing of mixed marriages in Puerto Rico as evidence of an absence of race prejudice; (5) the lack of analysis by Puerto Rican writers who for reasons all their own want to believe that a problem of race prejudice does not exist in Borinquen; (6) the effort of American writers to find in Puerto Rico an example of a place where problems between the races have been solved; (7) the fact that constant comparison by sociological writers of race relations in Puerto Rico with race relations in the United States leads to faulty conclusions.

Each of these allegations will be considered separately to explain how they have supported the myth for the absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico.

George Flinter, an early student of the slave experience in Puerto Rico (1832) did a lot to spread the belief that the liberality of slave laws in Puerto Rico was responsible for the peaceful way in which slave and nonslave residents lived in Puerto Rico. His books, one in English, the other in Spanish, developed a theme which would later be incorporated into what is known to students of slavery in the Western Hemisphere as "Tannenbaum's theory." Tannenbaum believed that the degree of liberality or cruelty in systems of slavery is determined mainly by favorable or unfavorable influence of laws in a society.[1]

Unlike the slave laws of non-Iberians, it was believed by Flinter and made popular by Tannenbaum that the slave system of the Spaniards protected the "moral and legal dignity of the slave." If and when "kindness, affection, and understanding between master and slave"[2] occurred in the southern United States, for example, Tannenbuam explained that such expressions were "personal and with no standing in the law. Legally, there were no effective remedies against abuse and no channels to freedom."

Liberal slave legislation in Puerto Rico did not keep the Negro slave in the Island from experiencing a miserable existence. Documents of the slave experience in Puerto Rico repeatedly point to the blatant disregard for laws designed to protect the "morals and dignity" of the slave whenever it suited the needs of the slave owner. Luis Diaz Soler and other students of slavery in Puerto Rico document the existence of "haciendas" which gained a reputation for the "taming" of rebellious slaves. Gordon reports "slaves were branded, beaten, burned, revished, hung, shot or had their hands, arms, ears, or legs cut off, depending upon the offense and the punisher." The author of the basic work concerning the slave experience in Puerto Rico indicates "some masters forced slaves to eat human excrement."[3]

The role of the Catholic Church in relation to the hypothesis that Spanish laws were liberal must be briefly considered also. According to law, the clergy had the responsibility of attending to the spiritual and educational needs of the slaves in Puerto Rico. In both of these responsibilities the record indicates that the church was derelict, except as an agent of the slave system. "Conversion of the Negro to the faith of the Spaniards was a necessity in order to establish a formula which would create a feeling of obedience, conformity humility and sacrifice, which was to contribute in making slave life tolerable."[4]

Not only was the education of the slave "abandoned by the 'eclesiasticos,' but the Catholic Church became a slave owner in Puerto Rico. The leadership of the Church took initiative with civil authorities and other slave owners in causing Negro slaves to "marry" in efforts to "increase the slave population with having to pay the cost of importing slaves from Africa and Europe."[5]

In the area of race relations, the Church in Puerto Rico maintained separate baptismal records, segregated on the basis of "black" and "white"; the clergy issued certificates on the "purity of the blood" giving assurances that in the veins of a citizen flowed no Black or Indian blood. The Spaniards, noted a British critic, related to slavery in their possessions so as not to let "their spiritual aims. . . interfere (with) their secular enterprises."

Some have argued that Spaniards had extensive experience with slavery prior to the New World experience so as to have developed a "moral" philosophy which in turn carried benefits to the slaves. However, the history of the Puerto Rican slave experience found that "the introduction of Africans in the discovered lands found an absence of legislation as to punitive or corrective methods which in turn authorized slave masters and slave caretakers (mayorales) to make their own laws, causing in instances brutal and extremely inhuman punishment."[6]

It becomes clear, then, that (1) Spanish slave laws and codes in Puerto Rico were ignored or enforced with the welfare of the slave master as a point of departure; (2) the "channels of freedom" were more directly connected to the economic situation of Puerto Rico than to liberal laws. Under pressure from the abolition movement in Puerto Rico, a lot of liberal codes and regulations were put in the law books of the Island for "public consumption" as "propaganda," but in actuality established the myth that liberal laws meant humane treatment of slaves.[7]

ABSENCE OF EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE

While Puerto Rico has not experienced segregated neighborhoods, racial lynchings, race riots, church bombings, police brutality in the form of race beatings or other forms of interracial violence as one finds record of in the United States, the conclusion that one might reach concerning the absence of race prejudice in the Island might be misleading.

Historical evidence, past and present, indicates the presence of violence and race prejudice in Puerto Rico. Exploitation has been the social reality in Puerto Rico and "race" the tool which makes human beings "inferior" and thus "justly" exploitable. The Negro as slave suffered much in Puerto Rico, as has been indicated above. He continues to suffer in Puerto Rico, joined by other exploited poor ("low class" and "nonwhite"). But his badge of "inferiority" keeps the lowest rung in the social ladder for himself.[8]

Eduardo Seda makes a notable analysis of race prejudice in Puerto Rico when he calls attention to the "social hypocrisy which has come to drown in a conspiracy of silence the possibility of a frank and healthy discussion of the problem.[9] A barrier to "frank" and "healthy" discussion of the problem has been the belief that a lack of American-style, racial violence indicates an absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico. Seda maintains that Puerto Ricans have a "head-in-the-sand" attitude toward the race problem which in the final analysis is "childish" and mitigates against efforts to resolve the problem.

While there might be some truth to the assertion that violence of the kind, or perhaps in some instances to the degree found in the United States, is not as rampant in Puerto Rico, violence inspired by racism is present in the Island.

One type of race-violence has special psychological implications for Puerto Ricans. It is defined by Renzo Sereno as "cryptomelanism." He defines the concept as it relates to the mental turmoil that some Puerto Ricans go through as they make "constant efforts to hide the existence of the color problem within the self." There exists in the Island "color insecurity," a drive to be non-Negro or completely White.

The hostile drives deriving from such insecurity are not externalized, because of lack of definite targets, but are directed instead against the self. The efforts toward discrimination and segregation are (a) an attempt at relieving self-destructive drives by establishing categorical racial differences, thereby making possible hostile drives against external targets, and (b) an attempt toward a rational belief that the self is wholly and perfectly non-Negro, or perfectly white. Neither of these attempts is successful because both are emotionally and rationally unacceptable to the self.[10]

Another supports the thesis that racial prejudice is present in Puerto Rico, despite a lack of excessive interracial violence. Juan Rodriguez Cruz reports: "Those who have observed the humble man from the countryside have noticed that many amongst them claim a pure lineage of Spanish descent. These countryside folk express contempt of the black fellow countrymen and they are opposed to the idea that a son or a daughter should contract marriage with one of theirs."[11]

The question of conflict and violence has another important dimension which merits at least brief consideration here. If violence and conflict because of race prejudice is often internalized by Puerto Ricans rather than being externalized, what are the implications of such behavior on the ability of Puerto Ricans to solve the problem or face prejudice in the Island? The fact is that very few Puerto Ricans at all are taking issue with the racial discrimination in Puerto Rico, least of all Black and other nonwhites. Is conflict and perhaps violence necessary to solve a problem of race discrimination?

If conflict is a necessary ingredient for a society on the verge of attempting to solve problems of racial discrimination, then Puerto Rican society is in crisis. With few exception have members of the scholarly community dared put the issue of race relations before an Islandwide forum. The government, though it commissioned a study in the early 1960s, has not moved toward fulfilling any of the recommendations. Students at the University of Puerto Rico have not made the plight of the poor (white and nonwhite) part of their social concern. The problem of racial discrimination has not been publicly espoused by mulattos, and "the most African-like sectors of the population keep themselves from becoming public activists on guard or against racial discrimination."

As one faculty member at the University of Puerto Rico put it, "not only is it impossible to find a black movement in action in Puerto Rico, the fact is that such a possibility has not even been 'contemplated.'."

The lack of interest in things "black" and the fact that in Puerto Rico there has never been "any concerted effort or interest" in probing or studying the magnificent African contribution to Puerto Rico has been described by Thomas Mathews as "deplorable."[12]

SOCIAL AND CLASS DISCRIMINATION

Jose Celso Barbosa is an important figure in the history of Puerto Rico. As a Black man he became the first of his race to rise to prominence in the affairs of the Island. Celso Barbosa wrote a lot about his beliefs and unlike other prominent black Puerto Ricans, he spoke out on racial issues. One important reason for examining the aspect of "class" and "social" discrimination through the words of Celso Barbosa is that he is often used and quoted as the classic example by Americans and Puerto Ricans who hold the view that there is no prejudice in the Island, simply "social" and "class" discrimination.

As far as Barbosa was concerned, Puerto Rico did not have a problem of color:

> The problem of color does not exist in Puerto Rico. It does not exist in the political life; it does not exist in public life. If a line does exist and it is logical that it should, it is more or less found in the social life. Not having, then, a problem of color in public life and since the color element has never attempted to cross or to erase the social line, the problem of color does not exist in Puerto Rico.[13]

His formula was simple, "if you stay in your place, you will never have a color problem." His newspaper articles elaborated further his stance. He warned black Puerto Ricans, "never try to confuse social questions with those which are public and political." Again, he wrote that Blacks in Puerto Rico must never try "by tolerance or by favor" to break the "social line of division" which existed at that time.

Celso Barbosa was inconsistent in his views concerning the problem of race and color in Puerto Rican life. While he said that there was no problem of color, he often wrote about ways of "solving" the problem of color in the Island. He envisioned a solution to the race problem in Puerto Rico through intermarriages between Whites and nonwhites. It seemed logical to him that if people who occupied the lowest rung of the social and economic ladder were there because they were Black and nonwhite, the solution was simply to make them White, or at least, less Black.

The solution was already on the way since, according to him, the "black race had been losing itself with other races." He believed that a man of color in Puerto Rico had three types of blood in his veins: "Each man of color in Puerto Rico is a conglomeration of blue blood (royal lineage), Indian blood and African blood." Evolution was the key to the racial problem of Puerto Rico. The "black" Puerto Rican would become "grifo," the "grifo" would become "mulatto," and the "mulatto" would evolve and become "white," and the "black, black" (negro, negro) would disappear. The evolution will continue; and the problem will be resolved."

The belief that there is no race prejudice in Puerto Rico, but simply social or class discrimination has at times weakened scholarly efforts at interpreting the Puerto Rican socio-historical experience. Such is the case with the basic work on the history of slavery in Puerto Rico, by Luis Diaz Soler. The author gathers together in one volume more than enough sources to make a first rate analysis. Somehow convinced that race prejudice is foreign to the Puerto Rican experience, he very selectively chooses a quotation from Celso Barbosa to close a final chapter of his book on slavery.

Although Celso Barbosa's own words indicated a willingness "to accept his place," though he equated "white blood" with "blue blood," Soler gives credence to his assumption by presenting Barbosa as the mouthpiece for Blacks in Puerto Rico. Soler writes:

> The certain words of Dr. Barbosa are worthy to close the history of slavery in Puerto Rico. A people which maintained for a period of more than three hundred years an institution of that nature as an integral part of its social and economic structure, nevertheless offered the ex-slave the opportunity to live in equal plane with their fellow citizens enjoying all the rights belonging to free citizens.

Puerto Ricans are insulted if told they are racist. Such an accusation will, if not carefully defined, place them in the same category as the Americans in the mainland. In the United States, laws have been passed to deliberately exclude Blacks from full participation in American life after slavery. Such occurrences have not taken place in Puerto Rico. The paradox that exists for the Puerto Rican who is insulted by an accusation which claims he is racist, is that while he denies that he is racist, he is confronted with the social fact of Blacks and nonwhites in Puerto Rico occupying interior positions to Whites in Puerto Rico's economic, social and public life.

Discrimintation in Puerto Rico, however, is not the result of deeply inbred prejudice or of a deeply seated conviction of racial inequality. It is a social pattern, automatically followed, which tends to be institutionalized along American lines. But it lacks the personal element of conviction in racial inequality which is part of the American picture.

If there is not a program or plan designed to benefit Whites at the expense of nonwhites in Puerto Rico and other Latin American regions, why is it that Whites are to be found on top of the social, economic and political pyramid and nonwhites at the bottom?

Because Whites in Puerto Rico did not try to compensate the Black Puerto Rican after abolition by making him aware of his cultural background which the slavery experience had mutilated and destroyed, the Whites unwittingly set up a system which worked against Blacks and favored Whites. Even though, now, Puerto Ricans speak of "social" and "class" discrimination as opposed to race discrimination, the fact remains that the system set up by Whites so much favors them as opposed to the Blacks that the term "upper class" in the Island is synonymous with "white," while the term "lower class" denotes "blackness."

In his book, Los Derechos Civiles En La Cultura Puertorriquena, Eduardo Seda studies in depth the problem of race prejudice in the Puerto Rican culture. He focuses on the issue of social and class status as it relates to race:

If racial discrimination was not a factor in Puerto Rico, we could reason that Puerto Ricans do not recognize or claim for themselves identity or social status that is based on racial factors. Nevertheless, we find in our study that not one single person categorized as "nonwhite" claimed membership into the upper social stratum, while the proportion of people of color who identify themselves as members of the low social class exceeded our statistical expectations.

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FLOATING MODULE - ENDNOTES

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MODULE X

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN DEALING WITH THE PUERTO RICAN DRUG ABUSER

INTRODUCTION

"One out of every 14 persons of Spanish origin in the New York metropolitan area is either a drug addict or a drug abuser. This indicates that drug addiction has assumed major proportions in this segment of the population. At this present time, while Hispanics represent only 12 percent of the entire population of New York City, they account for approximately 20 percent of the estimated 125,000 addicts in the area. Of this number, only a little more than half have become involved in treatment programs."

Regardless of what treatment modality a Puerto Rican drug abuser is assigned to or chooses to attend, awareness "of Hispanic patterns of addiction and critical reassessment of current addiction treatment programs and personnel, as they relate to people brought up in the cultural norms and value systems of Hispanic tradition...which contrast sharply with predominant cultural norms in America," are crucial in not only attracting this population to treatment but also maintaining them to completion.

A lack of basic understanding and awareness of those traditional values and social structures (machismo, sex-role reversals, the extended family compadrazgo system, the relationship of the United States to Puerto Rico, etc.) as they relate to your client personally and to his community at large can more than often lead to a complete breakdown in interpersonal communications so necessary to the helping professions such as counseling. Feelings, values, attitudes and the resultant behavior patterns exhibited by your client may seem bizarre or psychotic if you are not in touch with what your client's culture and language dictate as appropriate and within the norm of the community from which he/she has originated. This lack of communication can also leave you feeling that you have "failed" in your attempts to help this individual or you may end up feeling frustrated and inadequate...both of which often lead to "counselor burn out." Clarifying some of the issues that may arise between yourself and your Puerto Rican client can help you be a more effective counselor and enhance your professional capabilities in delivering services to as many clients as possible. Finally, learning about other cultures and languages and the way other people view the world may give a better understanding and sensitivity to those problems that face all the minorities in the United States. The following articles report the attempts of both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans at discovering and implementing therapeutic strategies that are "in touch with where their clients are coming from." As you read these articles...

FOCUS YOUR ATTENTION

Try to keep in mind some of the socio-cultural problems faced by the Puerto Rican drug abuser listed below.

Consider what problems, characteristics, issues, etc. are...

- specific to the general Puerto Rican community
- specific to the drug abusing community in general (black, white, Puerto Rican, etc.)

How does the Puerto Rican abuser combine these?...
What unique problems does he/she face?

SOME PROBLEMS TO CONSIDER

A. Cultural Conflicts

1. machismo, respeto, dignidad, and carino
2. Puerto Rican individualism vs. the American concept of team work
3. confianza and inter-personal relationships

B. Employment

1. educational level
2. income level
3. skills level
4. discrimination (shade discrimination vs. American race issues)

C. Puerto Ricans, the helping professions and institutions

1. the extended family vs. the institution
2. the spiritualist: Part-time Counselor
3. cultural sensitivity in therapeutic institutions: the paraprofessional as liaison and role model
4. assessment of therapeutic need, treatment, and use of auxiliary services: multi-service modalities
5. language-breakdown in communications

D. Dynamics of Family Culture

1. migration (cultural-linguistic shuttle) and the breakdown of the Puerto Rican family
2. the extended family and the compadrazgo system: a survival mechanism
3. machismo and marianismo: sex-role reversals
4. psychological-psychosomatic disorders: the "ataque" or "Puerto Rican Syndrome" in Puerto Rican women
5. adolescents and cultural shock: multi-generation gaps
6. race, color and ethnicity: intra-family conflicts
7. treatment: family therapy and the attempt to find coping mechanisms

E. Treatment Modalities and the Puerto Rican Addict

1. therapeutic communities vs. chemotherapy
2. drug addiction: physiological or psychological?

HISTORY OF DRUG ABUSE TREATMENT IN THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

by
Omar Bordatto

In the fifties and early sixties, the family was the main support system dealing with drug abuse in the Puerto Rican community. The addict's family would send the drug abuser to relatives in Puerto Rico where it was hoped the change in environment would arrest his condition. If the individual became involved with the criminal justice system, one of the few avenues of rehabilitation was the federal hospital in Lexington, Kentucky. Oddly enough, most of the Puerto Ricans treated there were referred from the Island since the criminal justice system in Puerto Rico had little resources of experience in dealing with heroin addicts. Lexington had very little success treating Puerto Ricans. Almost all returned to drug abuse upon discharge.

In the early and mid sixties a few Protestant congregations and a handful of Catholic clergymen began a series of religious programs designed to aid the Puerto Rican addict. These programs used religion as a substitute for drug addiction. Addicts had to detoxify "cold turkey" with around the clock assistance from the church members (most often family members). An example of such a program was Exodus House in East Harlem. These programs, however, also had a low success ratio.

In 1961, Dr. Efren Ramirez, a Puerto Rican psychiatrist, began working with addicts in SISLA, a mental institution which used a wing of a hospital for the treatment of heroin addicts in Puerto Rico. Dr. Ramirez believed that addiction could not be successfully treated without rebuilding the client's character. With the help of Piri Thomas, author of "Down These Mean Street," and a product of a religious program in New York, Dr. Ramirez instituted a self-help program using ex-addicts as counselors and role models. The program was quite successful - with a relapse rate of only 5.6 percent as opposed to nearly 90 percent for addicts in federal institutions. The program was so successful that in 1967, New York City's Mayor John Lindsay appointed Dr. Ramirez as the first Commissioner of the newly formed Addiction Services Agency. Dr. Ramirez founded Phoenix House, modeled after SISLA - and it became the model for most therapeutic communities in the east coast.

Even though most programs in the late sixties and early seventies were modeled after Phoenix House and SISLA, Puerto Rican addicts in the mainland still maintained a high rate of failure. These programs were not geared to deal with language and cultural difference of Puerto Ricans- it was against program rules to speak Spanish and native foods were never served - there were few, if any, role models which clients could identify with their culture. The drop-out rate for Puerto Ricans from drug treatment programs during this period was over 95 percent.

In 1969, Frank Gracia, a Puerto Rican ex-addict, founded Services for the Education and Rehabilitation for Addicts (S.E.R.A.). This was the first bi-lingual, bi-cultural drug rehabilitation program in the nation. S.E.R.A. provided counseling sessions in both English and Spanish, the client being free to participate in the language with which he felt most comfortable. Puerto Rican foods were served on a regular basis and the majority of the staff were Puerto Rican ex-addicts who served as excellent role models. Further, the program provided a host of ancillary services such as education, manpower counseling, vocational rehabilitation and social services, for the founder believed that the Puerto Rican addict needed educational and employment skills in order to survive without drugs. S.E.R.A. had an excellent retention rate for Puerto Ricans, with over 60 percent successfully completing the program. Most either returned to school or secured gainful employment.

After 1972, the S.E.R.A. model was replicated in other communities with significant Puerto Rican populations. Senior staff members of S.E.R.A. founded similar programs in other cities, and in most instances S.E.R.A. staff members trained the staff of these new programs. S.E.R.A. graduates are found all over the nation working in different areas of the human services delivery system.

At about this time, under Dr. Ramirez' leadership, Hogares Crea began to operate in Puerto Rico. The program was modeled after SISLA and Phoenix House, adding a concept of self-sufficiency. In order to successfully break the cycle of dependency, maintained Dr. Ramirez, the treatment program must set the example of self-sufficiency. Hogares Crea, with over 55 locations in Puerto Rico and 6 in Santo Domingo, - is currently serving over 3,000 clients, and is approximately 60 percent self-sufficient. They have accomplished this by establishing and managing several business with all profits benefiting the program.

CULTURE SENSITIVITY AND THE PUERTO RICAN CLIENT

Sonia Badillo Ghali

Therapists need to understand how and why traditional family stability and parental authority are affected in the transition to life in mainland urban centers.

Sonia Badillo Ghali is assistant professor, New York University School of Social Work, New York, New York. This article is based on a paper presented at a symposium on the Puerto Rican and Health and Welfare Services, sponsored by the Connecticut Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers and the Catholic Family Services of the Archdiocese of Hartford, in Hartford, Connecticut, April 22, 1977.

For Puerto Ricans, Transition from one culture to another has produced a condition of marginality which is stressful and often conducive to mental breakdown. The traditional family stability and parental authority have been severely challenged by the conditions of life in mainland urban centers. The intent of this article is to discuss the Puerto Rican's attitude and approach toward mental health services, as well as some of the specific skills necessary to assess, engage, treat, and advocate for the Puerto Rican client.

First, however, it is important to note cultural value differences, quality of life and employment opportunities, and the Puerto Rican's attitude and standing in regard to available systems and professional help.

CULTURAL CONFLICTS

The extended family and compadrazgo (kinship through godparent roles) have little meaning for the systems that impinge upon the Puerto Rican - public housing, department of social services, child welfare, and so forth. A man does not get his respeto and dignidad in the traditional way in the United States. The machismo of the male and the Marianismo of the female are roles that are looked down upon. In this society, respect is gained through prosperity and material accomplishment. A Puerto Rican mother concerned about her daughter's virginity will be derogatorily accused of being overprotective and old-fashioned. A young girl growing up in the city will be subjected to a great deal of conflict. For example, in the Puerto Rican world, a very high value is placed on virginity, and, in the outside world, premarital sexual relationships are now accepted. The young Puerto Rican man has little sense of his past and lacks the supportive institutional framework that alone keeps a culture living. What the young man or woman knows of the Puerto Rican tradition is only an adaptation of that culture to slum living and poverty in a foreign setting. Often the reaction to the conflict is resentment toward the group whose characteristics are the alleged cause of rejection by the outside world and a lashing out at the values held most highly by that group. These reactions are often expressed in negative behavior at home and at school and through drug abuse. The Puerto Rican also places a high value on the concept of individualism - safeguarding the inner integrity of the individual against group pressure. This value makes it difficult for the Puerto Rican to relate to the American concept of teamwork. One of the Puerto Rican's greatest fears is that of relinquishing his individuality to conform to the group. He is fatalistic about his destiny, and often responds to crisis with comments like, "Que sea lo que Dios quiera" or "Ay bendito": the first, accepting God's will, and the second bemoaning his fate. Submissiveness, deference to others, and passivity are encouraged as the ultimate in civilized behavior, as opposed to the American value on aggressiveness.

QUALITY OF LIFE AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

According to the report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, October 1976, the quality of life achieved by the Puerto Ricans (nearly 1.7 million) is inextricably linked with the quality of life in many of America's key urban cities. Thirty-three percent of mainland Puerto Ricans are living below the low income level and are the most economically disadvantaged of the nation's Hispanic cultural groups. According to the report, Puerto Ricans are work-limited largely through lack of skills and because of language difficulties, but those who are qualified for better jobs are victims of discrimination, both on an institutional and individual basis and in both the private and public sectors. There is a definite correlation between the migration from Puerto Rico and the job opportunities in the mainland. Now that the unemployment is so high, there is reverse migration to Puerto Rico. Not classed as immigrants because of their citizenship status, for such people migration is, nonetheless, fraught with discriminatory problems: they are not white; they generally do not come on a permanent basis. When the jobs they are mostly engaged in become computerized, when there is inflation, or when there is competition from abroad, for example in the garment industry, they are the first to be fired. On the other hand, they are able to secure fast, low-cost transportation; and they generally have transferability of unemployment insurance and social security credit.

The educational system is not working for Americans, much less for Spanish-speaking youngsters. And the same situation exists in regard to the judicial system. Puerto Rican parents tend to turn to the judges to help them control their children. They need help in seeing the system for what it truly does to their children. Medical programs and mental health programs are also failing the Puerto Ricans.

THE PUERTO RICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD SYSTEMS OF HELP

Puerto Ricans will often only make use of social agencies or mental health services as a last resort, although their difficulties frequently include dealing with systems such as welfare, housing, health, judicial, employment, and education; relationship problems within the family, and feelings of depression, nervousness, alienation, or other severe disturbance. Often when a poor Puerto Rican sees a professional worker he is wondering what that person thinks of the poor, of the dark-skinned, of those inarticulate in the English language. Does the professional worker understand how the ghetto has affected him? What it is like to be hungry, humiliated, powerless, and broke? Does he really want to help or just do a job? The middle-class Puerto Rican will wonder if the professional person will attribute all of the usual stereotypes to him or see him as an individual. First, therefore, in seeking help, the Puerto Rican will approach family members, friends, neighbors, shopkeepers, compadres, or acquaintances who have some degree of expertise or authority in the area of concern. Second, teachers, clergymen, or educated people who are within his own network or relationships are approached on an informal basis, not as part of an institution. Their mutuality is then explored through the town, the school, and the neighborhood that is common to them; their familial kinship is explored through blood relatives, marriage, compadrazgo, mutual acquaintances, and so on.

Another frequent source of help is the spiritualist. (In Spanish Harlem there are a dozen spiritualists in one five-block area.) By this means, many of the previous steps mentioned can be omitted because the spiritualist is often able to tell from the outset the nature of the affliction, explain the cause, and recommend appropriate treatment. Although spiritualists sometimes make appropriate referrals to hospitals or agencies, or even suggest social work intervention, more often they evoke the spirits, the intercession of saints, the application of herbs and potions, the lighting of candles, or the exhortation "to accept this test for spiritual development."

Spiritualist centers hold services several times a week, charge no fee, and are open to the public. They are usually store fronts and named after particular saints. Invariably, candles, statues, books on spiritualism, crosses, and a table and chairs for the principal medium or mediums in development are present. Prayers, chanting, and other rituals take place whereupon the mediums are possessed by spirits and are able to convey messages to the people regarding their problems and the spirits who are trying to communicate with them. While it is impossible to estimate the number of Puerto Ricans who have been to a center or are regular attenders, probably over 90 percent have had contact with someone who has psychic power and has had more than a questioning belief in this phenomenon.

Finally, if none of the above sources is able to resolve the difficulty, the Puerto Rican will seek the social worker's help, so that an authority can be used to effect change. This action can be interpreted by a therapist as manipulation and frequently, to the Puerto Rican's exasperation, questions are turned back to the client. But a Puerto Rican will often not reveal true feelings out of respect for authority. Until confianza is established, when two people break down barriers and see themselves in a more familial, trusting relationship, much time is wasted and often treatment is discontinued. If, however, feelings of trust and acceptance are instilled in the Puerto Rican client, he will become ready to share his problems. Establishing this kind of relationship is crucial, and an impersonal institution that requires one to immediately recount one's problems and personal history to a receptionist, an intake worker, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, a social worker, and so on, is demeaning and alien to the culture. Some studies indicate that 65 percent of clients drop out of treatment.[1]

CULTURE SENSITIVITY IN THERAPEUTIC WORK

Because Puerto Ricans continue to turn to spiritualism, where no stigma is attached and the emotions rather than the intellect are related, it is important in therapeutic practice that the worker elicit this part of the client's world and allow or sometimes encourage continuance of faith in the folk healing process while continuing therapy. The client may be hesitant to discuss his belief for fear of being called superstitious or crazy, but if the therapist is natural about it, he will probably succeed in tapping this signigicant resource.

Often, Puerto Rican Catholics are not regular church goers, attending only on special occasions such as Christmas, Palm Sunday, Easter, and for weddings and funerals. But they are very spiritual people and are interested in mysticism. They love processions, rituals, and pagentry and they make promises to God and the saints in return for favors. In view of this leaning, sectarian programs would be wise to make use of traditional saints as decorations in their settings. Celebration of the Three King's feast day (the reenactment of the visit to Christ by the Magi), an important festival, could be observed. Different members of the Puerto Rican family could take part in the cooking, the wrapping of small presents for the children, and so forth. Even nonsectarian agencies could make use of this traditional celebration.

Some Protestantism, imported with the American occupation and to a large extent middle class, exists. Sectarian and fundamentalist groups, for example, the Pentecostal religion, have quite a large following among poor Puerto Ricans throughout the island and in the United States. Clearly, these persons would require a different traditional setting.

For a setting to adequately respond to the needs of the Puerto Rican, Spanish should be spoken by receptionists, workers, and paraprofessionals. Experts in areas such as housing, education, law, home management, health, and child development who give facts and not just provide cognitive introspection should be included. Home-like waiting rooms where clients can converse while they are waiting as well as an opportunity to have or purchase Spanish coffee would be helpful.

Home visits and open hours for walk-in clients should be available as well as scheduled appointments. Flexibility in the agency setting is indicated in order to help clients feel comfortable. Puerto Rican professionals and paraprofessionals can assist in making the institutions more culturally sensitive in relation to physical surroundings, in making referrals, and in providing input, such as pointing out significant cultural biases.

Attempts to be culturally sensitive, however, do carry some dangers; one of which involves appropriate and inappropriate roles for professionals and paraprofessionals. The professional must not abdicate his responsibility to the paraprofessional nor merely provide concrete services to the Puerto Rican. Roles should be clearly defined, as each worker has a signigicant contribution to make which must be recognized and credited. The professional must develop sensitivity both to cultural differences - using the culture on behalf of the clients rather than against them - and to the need to modify techniques when appropriate.

Case Illustration

Mrs. D's mother used to pay for her grandson's boarding school tuition through the rental of part of her large house in Puerto Rico. Following the grandmother's death, Mrs. D flew back to New York City from Puerto Rico, leaving all financial details to be worked out by her uncle because she was too grieved over the death of her mother to attend to these matters. Lacking the house rental income, she was forced to remove her son from the school where he had been doing well. She went to a therapist when her son began to act out after living in a slum area for the first time. The therapist discovered that it was the first time the child had acted out and the behavior was related to the boy's removal from the school where he had been happy. The therapist explored Mrs. D's fantasy and discovered that she had expected her uncle to continue to rent part of the house without having to ask him; she was very good to him and placed herself in his hands. The therapist encouraged Mrs. D to go to Puerto Rico and confront her uncle with the fact that as the only duaghter, the house belonged to her. Nevertheless, the therapist understood why she felt that she would have to wait until her late mother's birthday or anniversary date of death. Dealing with Mrs. D's passive dependency without finding an immediate way to restore the equilibrium would not be helpful. In Puerto Rico, conflict or confrontation with family members must be avoided at all costs; particularly when an elder or money is involved. Recognizing the cultural implications of the situation, the therapist first informed Mrs. D that she was the legal heir, and then encouraged her to take her two children with her in order to get public opinion on her side and thus pressure the uncle to relent.

The above case illustration[2] describes how understanding and sensitivity to the culture helps to provide an acceptable resolution of a problem. The therapist was able to suggest an acceptable way out for the client. Mrs. D recognized that her uncle would not want to lose favor or standing in the community by depriving a widow and her two children of what is rightly due to them. The therapist understood that his client's going alone to confront the relative would lead to talk that she was only interested in money. His suggestion clearly demonstrates how the culture can be used to effect change.

Another example of this cultural reaction exists in Carlos Buitrago Ortiz's study of a peasant community in Puerto Rico,[3] where a sister is unable to confront her brother about building a house partly on her land. Although several trips are taken from New York City to Puerto Rico by the sister and her husband for this purpose, it would be unthinkable to break a valued relationship over something as insignificant as property. Eventually, two in-laws are pushed into the arena to do the confronting which is seen as more acceptable because it does not directly rock the boat of the brother and sister relationship. Guiding a Puerto Rican toward the heart of a conflict or a confrontation has to be done gently, gradually, and with a great deal of exploration of fantasy; otherwise the client may drop out of treatment for fear of losing favor with the therapist by not following through on a promise. It is most important, therefore, not to overstep the bounds of respect in employing confrontation techniques.

Case Illustration

Another important point to be sensitive to is the Puerto Rican's vulnerability to authority. The following case illustration involves a twenty-three-year-old Puerto Rican woman who was very committed to the value placed on virginity.

Marta was in group therapy for six months and was beginning to transfer her loyalties to her peer group as well as to the mental health professionals in the clinic. Many of the group members openly mocked Marta's strong belief in virginity and even conveyed the impression that a man who still wanted to marry a virgin had something wrong with him. This reaction had less of an effect on Marta than the implied value judgment of the therapists when they asked the same questions after hearing she had a boyfriend: "Are you having sexual relations with him?" "Why not?" Because of the therapists' authority roles and questions, Marta perceived a message that said, "There's something wrong." A little later, the therapists and group members were extremely surprised by Marta's unwed pregnancy; so unlike her and so opposite to the strong convictions she had displayed earlier.

In this illustration, the inner controls are not strongly developed, relying as they do on external controls and on following authority's dictum. Here, authority was perceived as changing the rules. While others could hear the question "Why not?" as asking for pros and cons, the Puerto Rican may hear it as "Go ahead." Also, the need to please is stronger in the Puerto Rican because of her traditional role.

The Puerto Rican syndrome has become so well-known that there is a reference to it in Alfred M. Freedman, Harold I. Kaplan, and Benjamin Sadock's *A Comprehensive Textbook on Psychiatry.*[4] Unfortunately, it does not represent the accurate version. Not everyone who experiences ataques or the Puerto Rican syndrome is schizophrenic. The ataques reaction is a form of hysteria characterized by hyperkinetic seizures as a response to acute tensions and anxiety. It is a culturally expected reaction and an ordinary occurrence. It is most often used as a means to control. It may occur regularly, for example, when a teen-age son gets out of hand or when a husband is going out to drink. As the ataque produces less medical intervention (at first it can lead to hospitalization, painful injections, being very sick, and so forth) and as a family becomes more able to communicate openly, they become less frequent. Braulio Montalvo's article[5] contains a case illustration of thirteen-year-old Maria who wore long dresses over her knees. She was asked by her teacher to wear a shorter dress for her part in a school play, to put on lipstick, and to smooth her secreta(standing-out hair). Maria became distressed at this request and her teacher contacted Maria's parents, who were quite unresponsive regarding Maria's dramatic talents. They were also unresponsive regarding discussion of Maria's being able to travel to perform with the drama group. When Maria developed vomiting spells and a dramatic convulsive ataque three days before the play, the psychiatrist could not explain the nonepileptic seizure through any intrapersonal cues, fears, anger, or inner conflicts. The reason lay hidden until the day of the play when the girl could not perform because she was so weak and hoarse. Over this period, she had become more religious and more conscious of her role as a daughter. Without realizing it, the family members had relayed subtle messages of disapproval immediately after the teacher's visit. The visit had catalyzed the clash, the pulling and counterpulling between school and family. The subculture of a Puerto Rican family was reclaiming one of its members from the school's American subculture. The teacher's miniskirt and her emphasis on Maria's traveling from school to school were definite threats. She had not sensed that the girl's hair and overall appearance were signs in the Pentecostal Puerto Rican church of a humble, unadorned demeanor. Had the teacher been attuned to Puerto Rican sensibility, she would have stressed safety and adult supervision and she would have worn her longest skirt.

ASSESSMENT OF THERAPEUTIC NEED, TREATMENT, AND USE OF AUXILIARY SERVICES

The Puerto Rican's mental health problems will be greatly reduced if he has help in negotiating the systems, in gradually increasing his English vocabulary, in gradually increasing his job skills, in facilitating the obtaining of homemaker service, in obtaining adequate housing, and so forth. This intervention, together with overt demonstration by therapists that the Puerto Rican's color, culture, and values are accepted, will enable clients to feel like partners and will more readily engage them in a therapeutic process of addressing more specific mental health problems. Mental health programs need, therefore, to address themselves not only to being agents of change but also to being coordinators of auxiliary services within their own programs, and, if possible, with other programs.

Case Illustration

Juan and Carmen R live in a tenement in the South Bronx. They have five children, three sons born in Puerto Rico and two daughters born in the United States. Juan was previously employed as a clerk in a New York City grocery store or bodega. He completed an eighth grade education in a small interior town in Puerto Rico but was unable to attend high school in the city because his parents, who had twelve children, could not afford the necessary shoes, uniforms, and transportation. Instead, Juan began working full time alongside his father in the finca (farm) of the wealthy L family. Juan asked God to forgive him for his envious thoughts toward his brother, Jose, who was the godson of Senor L and had his tuition paid by the wealthy farmer. Juan's own godparents were good to him and remembered all the occasions and feasts, but they were poor. When Juan was sixteen, his godfather, Pedro, got him a job on the pineapple farm of the coastal city of Arecibo. He enjoyed living with Pedro's family. At age twenty-four he fell in love with Pedro's granddaughter, Carmen, who was sixteen, in the tenth grade, and a virgin. Apart from family gatherings and Sundays in the plaza, however, he was unable to see her. Finally, he asked her father for her hand in marriage and the latter consented because he thought of Juan as a brother. The patron loaned his finca for the wedding and contributed a roasted pig for the occasion. Over fifty people from infancy to age ninety were there to celebrate the wedding.

Juan was very proud when his first-born was a son, but his pride as a man was hurt when Carmen had to return to work as a seamstress because of the increasing debts. Her family took care of the baby and fought over who would be the godparents. By the time a third child was born, a show of God's blessing, Juan was let go at the pineapple farm and he and his family moved to San Juan, where his brother, Jose, got him a job in a supermarket. This job did not last long and after a long period of unemployment and health problems with the youngest child, Juan moved to New York City with Carmen's brother, who obtained for him the job in the bodega.

Carmen was delighted with being reunited with her family, but when she became pregnant with their fourth child, the Rs moved into their own apartment. Carmen became depressed because for the first time she was not living with the extended family; because of the stress of the change of culture; because of her inability to speak English; and because of the deterioration of the tenement which was impossible to keep sparkling clean. She suffered from headaches, stomach problems, and pains in her chest, but doctors told her these symptoms were due to nerves and her condition was chronic. When she felt better she would raise the volume of the jibaro music on the Spanish station and talk to her saints. Finally, Juan sent for Carmen's aunt to come to live with them and her arrival helped Carmen. Carmen accepted Juan's arguments that in America job, schooling, and medical facilities were better than in Puerto Rico. (In some ways the job and medical facilities in Puerto Rico were nonexistent unless one had a car.) The years passed, and Carmen consoled herself that as soon as the children finished their education they would move back to Puerto Rico where Juan could set up a business.

As the children grew they adopted the ways of the neighborhood children. They no longer asked for the parents' blessings as they came and left the house; they wanted to go to parties unchaperoned; they sometimes talked back; the girls wanted to wear make-up at age fifteen and dress in nonladylike clothes. The boys had friends who belonged to gangs and smoked pot, and the parents feared the same would happen to their sons. Juan and Carmen threatened to send them back to Puerto Rico or to a colegio (boarding school) if they did not sever these friendships. Another important and traumatic issue that the family was faced with for the first time involved the issue of color. The youngest daughter, Yvette, age twelve, entered junior high school and found herself placed on the black side of the two camps in school. This situation affected the entire family. Carmen reminded her daughter that she was a Puerto Rican and told her to speak Spanish loudly so the school children would not confuse her with the blacks. Inside, Carmen felt guilty that her daughter's dark skin led to problems.

During this very difficult period Juan injured his back while loading merchandise and became permanently disabled. Suddenly, the family had to receive public welfare assistance, and Juan's authority was gradually becoming undermined, particularly as he was no longer the breadwinner. He gegan to drink. Trips to Puerto Rico, while somewhat supportive, did not provide a solution to the problems the family was undergoing. Finally, Yvette came to the attention of school authorities because of her withdrawn behavior and she was referred to a mental health center.

DYNAMICS OF FAMILY CULTURE

Before discussing treatment in this case it is necessary to understand the dynamics of the family in relation to their culture. Juan's transition from the interior to the coast, to San Juan, and, finally, to the mainland for economic purposes reflects a common pattern of Puerto Ricans. By the time of arrival in the United States, they have already experienced upheavals which affect their functioning, and have developed adaptive defenses and behavior often foreign to the culture. (When the Puerto Rican Family Institute in New York City was first established in 1960 by a group of Puerto Rican social workers for the purpose of utilizing well-established Puerto Rican families to serve newly arrived families as "extended family substitutes," it was discovered that the so-called "intact" families were experiencing such culture shock themselves that the program's original objectives had to be modified.)

The manner in which Juan obtained his jobs is not unusual, neither is the relationship of the farm owner with Juan's family. The Puerto Rican's social security consists of maintaining good relationships with extended family, friends, and people with "connections," in order to reap benefits in job or educational opportunities or to receive help with the systems; as stated in Spanish, se necesita pale. The wealthy take a paternalistic, benevolent attitude, particularly if the poor are submissive, respectful, and know their place. Having a half dozen or more poor godchildren is a source of pride to the wealthy, and often some of these poor children are raised by them, hijos de crianza, in their homes, to be playmates for their own children and to assist in the household duties. The natural parents are very pleased with this arrangement as it ensures greater educational, employment, and marriage opportunities, as well as an escape from the grinding poverty consistent with large families. It also increases the intimacy of the two families, and the latter basks in the reflected glory of the former.

Carmen's depression and psychosomatic disorders are common to Puerto Ricans who are transposed to a foreign, cold, accelerated culture, without the benefit of the usual supportive, extended family. In addition to the importance attached to the extended family, Puerto Ricans also attach great importance to place of birth, and his family's frequent moves and distance from native town had taken their toll. Because traditionally the Puerto Rican female has few outlets for stress in her long-suffering Marian role, she is much more apt to suffer from psychosomatic disorders and depression. Juan's solution in sending for Carmen's aunt is also not uncommon. The value of family is so important that Puerto Ricans are constantly traveling back and forth to attend christenings, weddings and funerals, and to take care of the newborn or the sick. That the stay may be extended to months or years is not unusual either.

Threatening to send the children to Puerto Rico to be raised by extended family is also a way of dealing with children who are unable to resist the pulls of American society. In Puerto Rico, the alternative is having the nuns or priests raise them in a colegio to give them the discipline they need. Many boarding schools take both wealthy and poor children; tuition for the latter being met through scholarships or wealthy friends or relatives. If this course is not open, the children are sent to an orphanage. Puerto Rican parents living in the United States, therefore, often become very rigid and overprotective of their children because of the lack of supports from the outside world and the realistic fears of the crime, drug addiction, different sexual mores, and the different values of slum dwellings. The children rebel at this rigidity, particularly during adolescence when the social relationships are expanded, and they often view their parents as inferior to the American way of life. While Carmen exhorted her daughter to stress her Puerto Ricanness, Yvette had been internalizing the stereotype concept of the Puerto Ricans as dirty, uncultured, involved in muggings, stabbings, and other crimes. Rather than say she was Puerto Rican she said she was Spanish-speaking. She was embarrassed that her parents did not attend Parent-Teacher Association meetings. (Carmen went to the school once but got lost. She did not know the teacher's name and did not speak English; no one could help her.) Yvette also resented having her hair in curls and bows and looking like a little girl; she felt different from everyone else.

Adolescents caught up in conflict between family and cultural values and the dominant society's expectations frequently reject themselves, become defensive about who they are, and sense that they must apologize for the low esteem in which the group is held. In Puerto Rico, particularly in the small towns, the extended family and family friends go out together for recreational purposes and the split between generations is less emphasized. Storekeepers, teachers, and neighbors are all concerned about everyone's children and provide a deterrent to acting out. In addition, there is much less incompatibility between the expectations of home and family and the larger society; this situation is, however, changing, particularly in the new developments and larger cities. Nonetheless, the Puerto Rican culture relies most strongly on the support of the extended family. Those who migrate are torn from these associations, and it is this disrupted family which is faced with the overwhelming task of easing the acculturation difficulties and the critical confusion of the children.

The issue of color is an enormous factor for Puerto Ricans to contend with upon arrival in the United States. With a white, black, and Indian hertiage, there are all shades and colors in the native Puerto Rican. There are numerous categories depending on shades of color, the texture of hair, and features. Cinnamon color is a desired shade to posess. While the higher classes are more snobbish about their whiteness, their attitudes toward their darker brothers never approximate the hostility toward blacks in American society. When Puerto Ricans arrive on the mainland they are judged either white or black for the first time, and, if pronounced black, are atttibuted all the racist stereotypes of the black people. Enormous problems of identity and disruption are caused in families, particularly when some are considered white and some black.

Finally, while the disequilibrium caused in the R family by Juan's disability would be similar in any family, the excessive importance attached to fixed and rigid family roles in the Puerto Rican culture exacerbates the problem. The Puerto Rican family is patriarchal in essence. In theory, the man is the absolute chief and sets the norms for the whole family. He is respected or feared by most members. He is the breadwinner, and his wife is responsible for the care of the children and the housekeeping. As the boys grow, the father becomes closer the them. It is his responsibility to prepare his boys for manhood. The concept of maleness or machismo is very strong and is related to courage, aggressiveness, and sexual prowess. In addition, it is related to the fulfilling of one's own role. In Juan's case, the breadwinner role has been destroyed, the setter of norms has been impaired, and the ability to prove courage, aggressiveness, and sexual prowess hindered by a physical handicap. Juan no longer feels he has the right to *respeto* and *dignidad*. Welfare assistance impingement, as well as the struggles the family is undergoing, reinforce his powerlessness. Drinking is experienced as an escape from the present reality.

Treatment

Clearly, the color issue, culture shock, Juan's disability, and the family crises are important factors in Yvette's problems. In such a case, the author, as a Puerto Rican caseworker, would suggest family therapy in the home and engage auxiliary services.

To implement family therapy in this case, home visits would be made if Juan's disability or other reasons prevented the family's coming to the office. First, the therapist would explore how the family felt about the referral to the clinic and point out the clinic's role and how it could be of service. Intervention in a crisis would undoubtedly be the main advantage. Concrete issues would be addressed immediately to facilitate the engagement process. The author would not accept initial verbal compliance of the contract, because of her belief that she would be viewed as an authority figure not to be openly disagreed with, until a relationship or *confianza* be established.

The gathering of extensive data on Yvette and setting up a diagnostic workup would take place after the family sessions began, to see if they were still warranted. The family crisis, rather than Yvette's withdrawal, should be addressed. Yvette should, however, be seen alone in addition to the family therapy in order to help her make more active use of the family sessions. Carmen's aunt would be included in the sessions, and attempts would be made to assess the different roles of the individual members, particularly in reference to traditional values, Anglo values, and the shifting values of each. The basic family cohesiveness would be relied on heavily at this time. The therapist's role and how he or she is perceived by the family, particularly Juan, would be explored. The author would emphasize her authority role or her maternal role depending on what seemed to work best with this family. She would be prone to provide information about herself, therapeutically guided, and welcome their offer of sharing coffee or a snack with them.

The therapist would address the color issue and reach out to Yvette's siblings to verbalize their difficulties in coping with this discriminatory hostility. Probably, the siblings would be able to express on behalf of Yvette why it was easier to say Spanish-speaking rather than Puerto Rican, contrary to Carmen's advice. Carmen would be helped to deal with her own guilt regarding her dark skin. The ugliness of racism as something external to the family would be pointed out. Self-esteem and pride in their culture should be raised through reminding the family of their heritage and appealing to their sense of patriotism. The Puerto Rican therapist and staff could be seen as role models that counteract against the negative stereotype of the Puerto Rican. The author would also help them see that the status of the Puerto Ricans in this country is no different from other migrant groups who are forced to carve out an existence for themselves and their families against overwhelming odds. Programs like Aspira, and educational Puerto Rican agency for the young, or the Arecibo Social Club, made up of Puerto Ricans from that town, would be used to reinforce their Puerto Rican pride.

Auxiliary services

The paraprofessionals and other agency staff, as well as workers in other programs, would be heavily relied upon to provide their expertise regarding school, job, housing, tutoring, medical areas, and so forth. The therapist's role would be to coordinate these auxiliary services in team meetings on behalf of the family. The role of the church or the spiritualist would also be coordinated in the treatment plan if either or both were significant. Carmen's psychosomatic disorders and depression would be addressed with the understanding that until she had less overall stress and greater outlets, the results would not be great; helping her on this aspect would be on a very gradual basis, especially achieved through the instilling of hope. Without completely toppling the martyr role, it should be constantly reassessed in terms of how far she and Juan are willing to go in establishing more open ways of communicating. Because he has to rely on her more as a result of his disability, the advantage of her becoming less passive might be seen in a better light.

The generation gap would be handled even more gingerly than with an Anglo family. Puerto Ricans are not used to the democratic approach where each side listens and one side attempts to understand the other's perspective. It would be important to bear in mind the need to maintain respect for the father and defer to him in assessing how far to go. Families that Juan admires should be inquired about, and it should be pointed out how they have undergone similar pressures. Their ways of coping could be looked at as additional role models. A main focus of treatment, in addition to help with the acculturation process, would be the building up of the father's role and the provision of insight into how he continues to be the head of the household despite his disability. Rehabilitative job training might possibly restore his breadwinner role. In dealing with Juan's machismo, particularly the sexual aspects, the parents would be seen alone. Such topics need to be handled very delicately; sex is still a taboo subject, and perhaps it might be necessary to schedule individual sessions for the father. Most of all, in work with Juan, the therapist must communicate respect for the man and sensitivity to his vulnerability. Because he is not usually a heavy drinker, his drinking must be seen as a temporary escape mechanism and not dealt with directly. The usual techniques of exploration of fantasy, reflective thinking, ventilation, sustainment, facilitation of communication, softening of rigid roles, and so forth, would be used, but with more emphasis on direct influence particularly at the beginning phase when it is so demanded because of the client's feeling that the therapist has the answers.

IMPLICATIONS

If treatment is successful, the roles will be less rigidly held. The parents will have greater sensitivity to the severe problems their children are facing and hence find ways that will enhance their coping skills. It should be borne in mind that the family has within it the resources and strengths to restore the homeostasis. The therapist and other sensitive professional workers simply help the family to release the energy needed to meet their proper tasks so that the individuals can be free to grow. The family capacity to love, to share, and to be generous and hospitable is the foundation to build on. If at the completion of treatment, the family offers a gift to the therapist, rather than question this action, the author would accept it graciously, recognizing it as a cultural gesture.

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SOCIAL REHABILITATION OF HISPANIC ADDICTS: A CULTURAL GAP[6]

by
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One out of every 14 persons of Spanish origin in the New York City metropolitan area is either a drug addict or a drug abuser. This indicates that drug addiction has assumed major proportions in this segment of the population. At the present time, while Hispanics represent only 12 percent of the entire population of New York City, they account for approximately 20 percent of the estimated 125,000[7] addicts in the area. Of this number, only a little more than half have become involved in treatment programs. The situation calls for a close examination of Hispanic patterns of addiction and a critical reassessment of current addiction treatment programs and personnel, as they relate to people brought up in the cultural norms and value systems of Hispanic tradition.

THE PROBLEM

We know there are distinctive features of the Hispanic culture which contrast sharply with predominant cultural norms in America; it follows that treatment personnel should be aware of such differences when working with Puerto Rican and other Spanish clients.

In Puerto Rico, "Operation Bootstrap" has attempted to condense a century and a half of economic development into a time sequence of one generation. This accelerated march toward industrialization, patterned on the economic growth values of an alien culture, encouraged a surge of migration from rural to urban areas on the island. It is of particular interest that, in the last decade, addiction prevalence has followed the geographic distribution of industrialization. The still rural mountainous center of the island, while it is the worst poverty area, is virtually free of addicts. For working-class Hispanics and other low-income groups suddenly propelled into an urban atmosphere, drugs may offer a way out of dilemmas created by the resulting cultural conflict.

When Puerto Ricans migrate to New York, the cultural conflicts are deepened, even aggrevated, by additional factors, such as discrimination, minority group status and a language barrier. Moveover, the key concepts of Puerto Rican culture - dignidad, respeto, and carino - are all threatened by the pace of urban living and the social distance norms of behavior in agencies with which the Puerto Rican must deal. In Puerto Rican culture, whatever his class or station in life, each individual regards himself as having a basic inner worthiness which demands recognition by others. Failure to be paid respect, which may be shrugged off as common rudeness by a member of the majority culture, may shatter the dignidad of the Hispanic addict and effectively prevent his participation in a treatment program.

Although some inroads have been made through the creation of small, specialized programs to provide treatment to the Puerto Rican-Hispanic addict, there are a great number of Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking addicts who are not receiving treatment through the larger American drug treatment agencies and programs. No more than 20 percent of the total New York City treatment population is Hispanic. Of those in treatment, no more than half will reach approved completion. Moreover, the Puerto Rican-Hispanic group has the highest non-completion rate irrespective of the treatment modality. This situation reflects the general status of the rehabilitation of the drug addict vis-a-vis the problem within the Puerto Rican-Hispanic community. Generally speaking, the profession has overlooked the need for a basic awareness and understanding of those special characteristics, conditions, and circumstances which must be considered when dealing with the Puerto Rican-Hispanic addict population. Most of the non-

Hispanic personnel currently employed in drug abuse treatment programs are unprepared in terms of Spanish language ability, comprehension of the Hispanic addicts' social and economic background, understanding of Spanish culture, and specifically designed addiction specialist skills to either attract the Puerto Rican-Hispanic addict or to effectively deal with him while he is in their care.

Traditional values and social structures are not usually taken into consideration by clinics and agencies treating Hispanic patients in the United States. In order to achieve easier communication and greater cooperation from patients, treatment personnel should know, for example that the basic reality in Puerto Rico is the extended family, which includes everyone with whom the individual has even the remotest blood-tie. It is this network which provides not only nominal identity but the strong root-identity which is central to his being and place in the world, carrying with it loyalties, obligations and privileges unknown in the ethos of the independent American nuclear family. A drug program which recognizes the basic value of carino - friendly helpfulness - and the emphasis on family ties would offer help on a personal, informal, face-to-face level, and would be aware of the patient's own frames of reference including the challenge to his traditional way of life which may have influenced his turning to drugs. If Hispanic addicts are to be rehabilitated, treatment personnel must understand not only the values inherent in the culture they spring from but the circumstances which threaten that culture, such as geographic mobility making extended family ties difficult to maintain; the confusion created by challenges to the traditional sex roles of mother and father as well as "man" and "woman"; the stress caused by pressure to conform to American customs, some of which not only deny their own culturally conditioned values but often contradict them.

While there is extensive literature describing various aspects of the treatment of the heroin addict, there appears to be very little study of ethnic backgrounds of patients, and the possibility that sociocultural differences may present important variables when measuring treatment outcome. At present there is only one article, to our knowledge, which deals with a Hispanic population in a methadone maintenance program.[8] This situation has led us to offer some new ideas and clarification in terms of the specifics of the Hispanic addicts.

THE PROGRAM

We wish to present a description of the Puerto Rican patients in the drug addiction program of the Lincoln Community Mental Health Center in the southeast Bronx of New York City. This is one of the clinics of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program which is a large urban program with eight units (seven outpatient clinics and one inpatient service) and a patient population of over 2,000. Patients are stabilized on a mean dosage of 75 mg. of methadone. A number of supportive services are offered, such as: counseling and job placement; educational assistance involving remedial instruction; referral to vocational and educational programs; group, family and individual counseling; referral to welfare, and legal services for those who have cases pending at the time of entry into treatment. In addition, those who become addicted to other drugs or alcohol can be detoxified on the inpatient unit. Patients in good standing who want to detoxify from methadone are assisted in this effort with the understanding that they may resume treatment if the need should arise.[9] The program makes an effort to maintain balance between professional and non-professional staff. Ex-addicts are given priority in hiring even in professional positions if they qualify. Ex-addict staff members are selected from therapeutic communities and religious programs as well as from methadone maintenance programs.

The program stresses community involvement in the delivery of services. The staff of the program is composed of: a Medical Director, an Outpatient Department Supervisor, three ex-addict counselors (two methadone patients and one graduate of a drug-free therapeutic community), and a fourth counselor who is a non-professional mental health worker. Only three on the staff were Hispanics. Although leadership is in the hands of the Medical Director and the Clinic Supervisor, non-supervisory staff have considerable influence in the decision-making process.

SOCIAL INDICATORS IN REHABILITATION

Of the 231 patients admitted to the program between March and November, 1971 and followed up two years later, 162 (70 percent) were Puerto Rican, as they have defined themselves on the intake questionnaire. One hundred thirty seven (85 percent) of the Puerto Rican patients were males; 25 (15 percent) were females. However, the New York City Narcotics Register reports that women comprise a steadily increasing proportion of first-reported individuals, having increased from 14 percent in 1968 to 25 percent during the period of January to June, 1973.

The mean age was 31.5 years, which may be compared with a mean of 30.8 for men and 36.2 for women reported by Ball and Pabon in a study of Puerto Rican addicts treated at the Lexington and Fort Worth hospitals between 1935 and 1962.[10]

Two social factors perceived as relating to rehabilitation efforts are employment and educational levels at time of admission. While we do not have figures on educational levels to compare over time, we can say that the educational levels of Puerto Rican patients in our program during the time of our analysis are comparable to those of the general population in the catchment area, with the difference that twice as many of the patients have had some high school training (63 percent, as against 32 percent in the catchment area population). About the same number have graduated from high school (17 percent of patients; 21 percent, catchment population). Few in either group attended college.

Another factor in the rehabilitative effort was employment. Only three percent of the patients were employed at time of admission; 54 percent were employed after entry into treatment. From the low initial employment rate one might think that members of this group were poor candidates for rehabilitation, but it can be seen that considerable progress was made in this area by the patients during their course of treatment. Forty-three percent of our patients remained unemployed during the two years of this review, but this is a fairly low rate considering the problems encountered by methadone patients from an urban ghetto seeking work.

Another social factor in the process of rehabilitation deals with welfare enrollment. Seventy-five percent of the Puerto Rican patients were on welfare at admission. This can be compared with 39 percent of the total catchment area who were reported on welfare in the 1970 census. As of March 1973, of the 114 Puerto Rican patients still in the program, 66 percent were on welfare. It should be noted here that in both the catchment area population and the patient population, unemployment percentages are lower than welfare percentages, indicating either that employment is sporadic or that wages of the working population are so low that, even when employed, they qualify for public assistance.

MEASURING TREATMENT OUTCOME

One parameter of successful treatment outcome is the absence of secondary drug abuse. An examination of urinalysis records for a six-month period (October 1972 to March 1973) reveals that 25 percent of the patients were using or had used some drug other than methadone. Barbiturates (35 percent of drugs taken) and cocaine (41 percent of drugs taken) were the most frequently used drugs. There was very little use of amphetamine (3 percent) or heroin, as represented by quinine (15 percent) and morphine (5 percent). There is some clinical evidence that Puerto Ricans, more frequently than others, use barbiturates to "come down" from cocaine.

One area in which methadone maintenance treatment is said to be beneficial is in the reduction of criminal behavior after entry into treatment. Cushman[11] and Gearing[12] found a sharp reduction in arrests following admission to a methadone maintenance program. While we do not have figures for arrests of Puerto Rican patients before they entered the program, we know that heroin addicts commit many crimes in an effort to gain the means to satisfy their craving. Thirty-one Puerto Rican patients (19 percent of the patient population) accounted for 45 arrests following admission to the program. Twelve arrests were on drug charges (possession or sale); eight were of a minor nature, and there is no information for ten of the arrests. Seven of the cases were dismissed. However, this figure of 31 arrests after entering the program is much higher than that found in another study which reported only six percent of arrests over a 12-month period after entering a methadone maintenance program.[13]

Another parameter of treatment success is retention in treatment. Seventy-one percent of the Puerto Rican group was retained in treatment over the two-year period, and this is comparable with retention in treatment for the non-Hispanic patients of our program. The reasons for discharge of Puerto Rican patients over the two-year period were as follows:

Dropouts		31	(65%)
Incarcerated		10	(21%)
Homicide	1		
Petit larceny	1		
Arson	1		
Drug related	1		
Unknown	6		
Deceased		4	(8%)
Cirrhosis	1		
Overdose	1		
Suicide	1		
Unknown	1		
Voluntarily detoxified		2	(4%)
Hospitalized		1	(2%)
Total		48	(100%)

In comparing the characteristics of retained patients with those who were discharged, we found remarkably little difference. The mean length of time spent in treatment for those patients who were discharged before March 1973 was ten months. Males and females had almost the same retention rate (70 percent for males; 72 percent for females). The mean age of discharged patients was 31.3, as compared with 32.5 for patients who stayed in treatment.

The marital status of discharged as against retained patients also presents no significant picture, 53 percent of the discharged patients were married; 33 percent were single, and 11 percent were separated. Among the retained patients, 37 percent were married, 39 percent single, and 19 percent were separated.

No difference was found in levels of education between discharged and retained patients. Elementary or some high school had been attained by 80 percent of the discharged patients and 77 percent in the retained group. Similarly, high school graduation or some college was attained by 20 percent of those discharged and 23 percent of those retained in treatment. Here, we would have expected patients who have reached a higher level of education to remain in treatment.

Employment at admission, an indication of adjustment in the "square" world, is another factor which should be related to retention in treatment. Of the discharged patients, none were employed at time of admission; of the retained patients, only four percent were employed at that time. The difference is not significant, and is only slightly in the direction of our expectation that people who were employed at admission would be more likely to stay in treatment.

Altogether, findings clearly indicate very little, if any, correlation between age, sex, education or employment at admission and the probability of retention in treatment. It is of considerable concern to us that 65 percent of all of our discharged Puerto Rican patients have dropped out of treatment, usually with no explanation.

ANALYSIS OF DROPOUTS

Methadone maintenance, particularly when accompanied by supportive social programs, has demonstrated considerable success as an avenue of rehabilitation for heroin addicts nationally, and has become the treatment of choice. Our clinic attempted to match its services to the needs of the Puerto Rican community. It is less structured than most clinics; referrals are made to agencies serving Puerto Ricans; some bilingual counselors are available. The discharge rate for Puerto Rican patients is not appreciably different from that of other ethnic groups in other clinics. The difference comes in the "reasons for discharge" which show 65 percent of Puerto Rican patients discharged simply as walking away from the program. Even allowing for the possibility that some of the voluntary dropouts in this program might, in a more discipline-oriented clinic, fall into a category of "discharged for drug abuse or disruptive behavior," the dropout rate is high enough to warrant further investigation.

It is difficult to acquire follow-up data on dropouts, but with patient profiles so similar for retained and discharged patients, one can perhaps explain the high rate of dropouts by looking again at ways the Puerto Rican culture differs from the expectations of many of those who run the clinics in the United States.

It was found in earlier research with Puerto Rican patients suffering from tuberculosis and treated in New York City,[14] that they tended to break appointments with health agencies frequently, and at times would leave hospitals against medical advice. Time has a different meaning to those of the Hispanic culture than it does to most harried Americans. Also, if immediate results are not obtained - no matter what type of treatment is being considered - one may simply "give up." There is undoubtedly some alienation from American institutions among Hispanics, who may perceive institutional "efficiency" as hostile and humiliating.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

The experience drawn from our study has made us consider certain basic programmatic changes to be implemented for services where there is a large number of Hispanic patients. They are as follows:

1. The need to be aware of cultural differences.

   With all the good will in the world, a clinic staff which does not understand the salient cultural values and sex roles that play an important part in the behavior and personality of Hispanic patients will be limited in efforts to help them. More than once in our program, we observed that female patients seen by male counselors were labelled as "uncooperative" because they were reluctant to discuss their problems with them, thus not getting the help they needed. In traditional Hispanic custom, women do not confide intimate details of their lives to men other than priests or their husbands. In effect, they were being asked to negate principles they lived by in order to receive help. In other cases, we observed females getting off methadone at their husband's request. In those cases, the counselor, apparently unaware of the authority vested in the male head of a Hispanic household, did not understand the clients' motivation and was at a loss to provide counsel which would help solve the dilemma.

   In another case, a Puerto Rican patient who did not understand English very well was asked for a urine specimen by a nurse who did not understand Spanish at all. When the patient claimed he could not urinate just then, the nurse accused him of lying. Nobody likes to be accused of lying, and such behavior is generally unacceptable from a member of one of the "helping professions." To a Puerto Rican, such a lack of *respeto* can challenge his cultural value of *dignidad*. Staff ignorance of the overriding importance of such matters may interfere with or destroy his rehabilitative opportunities. He may prefer to drop out rather than cope with attitudes which seem to him downright offensive.

2. The importance of training models along ethnic minority lines.

   Employees working in programs servicing Hispanic populations must understand the problem of drug addiction as it relates to the Hispanic addict and abuser, including the effects of drug abuse on the family structure, the community, and the addicts themselves. Participants must learn how to design a "clinical" program that will relate more positively and effectively to the Hispanic addict. In order to do this, the staff must understand not only the Spanish language and cultural traditions but also the historical aspects common to Spanish speaking countries, such as the Spanish colonial period, struggles for independence, nationalism, migration, and current political issues. If effective programs are going to be developed to deal with the drug abuse problem as it exists in the Hispanic community, then those Hispanic staff members currently working in the field will have to provide much of the leadership. Thus, they should have all of the skills, knowledge and experience necessary for them to design and administer these programs in the future. In addition to therapeutic skills, Hispanic staff should be trained in communication skills, the planning of strategies for working with the families of the Hispanic addicts and with the community. In the Hispanic code, the quality of personalismo should be encouraged in order to earn the trust of the community, and to attract and hold the Hispanic addict in treatment.

3. The need for Hispanic staff to treat Hispanic addicts.

Ideally, Hispanic drug addicts should be treated by persons who share their language, background and experience. Although we call ourselves a pluralistic society, there are strong social and institutional pressures to conform to what is deemed good by the majority. Aron et al,[15] in a study of drug addiction in a Chicano community in California, found that although over 600 Chicano drug addicts had gone through the drug detoxification program at Camarillo State Hospital, only three went on to try what the Chicanos felt was an American rehabilitation program. The study concludes that there is a need for separate drug addiction programs run by and for Chicanos, partly because they prefer it, and partly because they feel that successful rehabilitation can only take place within the context of the addict's cultural heritage.

The negative self-image induced by discriminatory practices against Hispanics can be improved and made positive by providing therapists from within their own culture in a treatment program. This must be coupled with educational and training opportunities which prepare trainees for productive livelihoods rather than the menial dead-end jobs now open to them. In order to build self-confidence and restore hope for a life beyond survival, therapy and training should take place among peers in a non-threatening atmosphere created by staff and addicts who share the same cultural heritage. Failure to achieve a sense of pride and identity in one's own cultural traditions may lead the addict not to an acceptance of mainland values but rather, as Snarr and Ball[16] reported, to an affiliation with a drug subculture to which the addict is likely to return after treatment. In this milieu, young Puerto Rican males are able to disregard occupational and parental adult roles valued by both mainland and Hispanic cultures. In effect, "drug subcultures provide avenues to success, to social admiration and a sense of well-being with the world, which the members feel are otherwise beyond their reach."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The patients we have described constitute a hard-core addict group, and it would appear at first glance that they would be difficult to rehabilitate. We have seen, however, that according to commonly used criteria for success in treatment, a substantial number have been rehabilitated during the period under study.

With regard to the failures, in addition to the cultural conflict to which we have brought attention, it may be suggested also that these patients have street hustling skills which are a considerable source of satisfaction but which are unrelated to, or incompatible with, getting and holding a conventional job. "Pulling off a hustle" may contribute more to a positive, healthy self-image than washing dishes or pushing a broom. It is, therefore, important for counselors to recognize and work with a person's existing skills.

The program reported on here is now providing specialized assistance in English, and high school equivalency in Spanish is being planned as well as classes in Puerto Rican history and culture. Taking into account the cultural restraints on women in discussing personal problems with male counselors, a female counselor has been hired. Because of its relatively high incidence among Puerto Rican patients, more should be learned about treatment for cocaine use. Factors which depersonalize a program, such as making it necessary to wait for medication, restrictions on taking home medication, and the implication that patients are not to be trusted when urine samples are taken, must be balanced against the need to prevent the illicit spread of methadone and the necessity to protect the patient from the consequences of drug abuse while on methadone. There is no easy answer to such problems, but it is possible that steps could be taken to minimize what Hispanics perceive as callous or punitive treatment on the part of staff.

It is important to have a staff that is representative of and has empathy with the patients it serves. If this is not possible, staff should be knowledgeable about and respectful of patients' cultures and life styles which do not fit expected or familiar patterns. Although patients must be assisted in the program's goals of self-sufficiency, economic independence and abstention from drugs and criminality, precautions must be taken against using methadone as a means of social control. Hispanic patients will not be as likely to walk away from a program where treatment builds on acknowledged strengths, values and folkways of their own cultural and social experience.

[17]SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS RELATED TO NARCOTIC USE AMONG PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY [18,19]

by
Edward Preble

INTRODUCTION

Prior to World War II the use of illegally obtained opiate drugs by lower class people in New York City was relatively limited, being more or less confined to a criminal subculture consisting of small time racketeers and hoodlums, burglars, petty thieves, pickpockets, prostitutes and procurers.[20] The major ethnic groups represented among these addicts were Italian, Jewish, Irish and Chinese.

When the trade routes and distributorships for illegal narcotic drugs were reestablished after World War II, a new market of potential addicts existed in the expanded Negro and Puerto Rican populations of slum neighborhoods in New York City. Between 1940 and 1950 the Negro population in the city increased from 458,000 to 748,000, and the Puerto Rican population from 70,000 to 245,000. As of 1960, the Negro population in the city was over one million, and the Puerto Rican population over 600,000. The majority of street addicts today are from this greatly expanded population of socially deprived persons, especially in the younger age brackets. With this new market, heroin addiction in the city has increased to the point where it can be considered a major socio-cultural phenomenon, and as such it is receiving the attention of social scientists as well as clinicians. The study reported on here is an attempt to describe and understand some of the social and cultural factors related to narcotic use in the city among one of these groups - the Puerto Ricans.

METHODOLOGY

A methodology was formulated based on the participant-observation techniques introduced by Malinowski in his studies of primitive cultures (Malinowski, 1922), and used successfully by Whyte's words, "the observation of interpersonal events." The dimension of psychodynamics was added to the Whyte approach by utilization of some of the techniques used by Kardiner and his associates in their studies of primitive and modern cultures (Kardiner, 1939, 1945, 1951). The central feature of this methodology is the psycho-diagnostic life history interview with individual subjects.

One illustration of the methodology can be given here. A twenty year old male Puerto Rican heroin addict from the study area was enlisted as a combination research informant and Spanish language tutor for the writer. The lessons and life history interviews took place after dinner in the tenement apartment of the informant's family, a three room apartment which was inhabited in the evening by members of the extended family, their friends and a pet chicken. On an average there were six adults and eight children present during these evening visits. The Spanish lesson involved memorizing about thirty conversational sentences which the informant-tutor had written down spontaneously on the previous visit. In addition to their intended use, these lessons produced informative projective material from the subject by way of the "free association" involved in his making up the lesson; a typical unanticipated yield in this kind of research. After his lesson the writer visited and interviewed the other members of the family and their friends. He had other contacts with this family and their friends at weddings, Baptism parties and other social occasions.

The four sources of information utilized in the study were: histories, ethnographies, participant-observer field journal records, life-history interviews.

SELECTION OF STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH INFORMANTS

The study area selected is a neighborhood in New York City less than one half mile square, containing a population of 17,000 people. Before World War II there was a preponderance of Jewish families in this area along with large minorities of Irish and Italian. During the 1940's some Negro families moved into the community and in the 1950's many Puerto Rican families moved in. As Negro and Puerto Rican families moved in, many longtime residents of the neighborhood moved out. The Puerto Rican population now constitutes approximately sixty percent of the people in the area. The Negro population is approximately twenty percent and the balance of twenty percent is non-Puerto Rican white, mainly people of Russian, Polish and Italian descent. The neighborhood to the north is a predominantly Italian community, and to the south it is predominantly Negro; to the east and west it is bounded by city parks. The area is an economically deprived neighborhood, the median family income begin approximately $3900 as compared to $6000 for New York City.

After spending about a month in the community visiting and getting to be known on the street and at the local coffee shops, bars, shoe shine parlors, candy stores and barber shops, the writer obtained the research cooperation of individuals representing the major cultural groups. Non-Puerto Rican cultural groups represented by the research informants were: Jewish, Irish, Negro, Russian and Italian. These subjects provided the writer with life history data, observations about the neighborhood (past and present) and their impressions of Puerto Rican people.

The Puerto Rican research subjects centered around a large extended Puerto Rican family and the block where they live. At one time this block was the headquarters of a well known Puerto Rican fighting gang. This large family and their friends constituted the main source of cultural and life history material on the Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood. The chief informants were a twenty year old Puerto Rican youth who was at one time a high status member of the street gang and is now a heroin addict, and a seventeen year old Puerto Rican boy who is an eleventh grade high school student and a responsible, ambitious, non-delinquent member of the community.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Puerto Rico is a small tropical island at the Eastern end of the Great Antilles, situated at the approaches to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus of Panama. It was discovered by Columbus in 1493. The island was inhabited by the Arawak Indians and periodically by the seagoing Carib Indians. Spanish colonization of the island began in 1508, and it was held by the Spanish until 1898 when it was ceded to the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War. In 1917 Puerto Rico was made a "Free, Associated State" of the United States, a status which provides United States citizenship.

Puerto Rico has always had an agricultural economy, based largely on sugar production. Other major crops are produced in coffee, tobacco and fruits. Since 1940 there has been a great amount of industrialization, especially in the metal-working, electrical, agricultural processing and textile industries. The growth and production of the economy has, until recently, never been able to keep pace with the high birth rate among Puerto Ricans.

The racial characteristics found among Puerto Ricans are derived from three major sources: indigenous Indians, white Spanish colonizers and Negro slaves. Combinations from these sources have resulted in many gradations of skin color, hair texture and facial structure. Five major divisions of racial definition are recognized by Puerto Ricans; these are: 1) *de color* (black skin, kinky hair); 2) *indio* (bronze skin, straight hair); 3) *trigueno* (brown skin, curly hair); 4) *grifo* (white skin, kinky hair); 5) *blanco* (white skin, straight hair). Broad facial features are always present in *de color* and sometimes in *trigueno* and *grifo*. Narrow features are always present in *indio* and *blanco* and sometimes in *trigueno* and *grifo*.[21]

The culture of Puerto Rico is Spanish. The outstanding cultural traditions are the Spanish language, Catholic religion, extended family cohesion, male dominance, double standard, pre-marital female chastity, dignity and hospitality. Puerto Rican people generally are easy-going and friendly. They tend to believe in fate and destiny and are consequently undoctrinaire. In religion, for example, especially among the Catholics, their commitment does not preclude taking advantage of proscribed secular benefits, such as contraception.

Since 1940, when the election of Munoz Marin to the Presidency of the Puerto Rican Senate started the decline of colonialism for Puerto Rico, a social and economic revolution has been in progress which is affecting the cultural traditions of Puerto Ricans. One of the most significant consequences of this revolution has been the progressive emancipation of women from cultural subjugation. This emancipation has not resulted from an acceptance of egalitarian ideals but from the fact that women are becoming important contributors to the economy. Of the approximately 90,000 people now working in manufacturing in Puerto Rico, almost half are women (Hanson, 1962). The traditional patriarchy in Puerto Rican family life is being challenged, with important social and psychological consequences for all members of the family. This development is even more noticeable among Puerto Rican families in the United States.

Puerto Rican people have been arriving in New York City in large numbers since the middle of World War II, and now number over 600,000, about eight percent of the city's population. They came mainly as a result of overpopulation in Puerto Rico and a great demand during and after the war for manpower in the States. The institution of regular air transportation between San Juan and New York at the end of the war made it possible to travel to New York in eight hours for a fare of fifty dollars, which greatly facilitated the migration movement. From 1940 to 1960 the Puerto Rican population in the city grew from 70,000 to 600,000. Twenty percent of all Puerto Ricans now live in New York City. Better than one out of ten youths in the city between the ages of fifteen and twenty is of Puerto Rican birth or parentage.

DELINQUENCY PATTERNS IN NEW YORK CITY SINCE 1950

The sudden influx of Puerto Ricans into the slum sections of Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn attracted the hostile attention of entrenched cultural groups in these boroughs, especially among the Negroes, the Irish and the Italians. This hostility was expressed most dramatically in street gang warfare. Although street gang fighting was not new to the city, there is no doubt that the immigration of Puerto Rican youths in large numbers stimulated the many conflicts which occurred between 1950 and 1956.

Gang conflict in the city started to subside around 1956, and has not been a serious problem since. Several factors contributed to the cessation of large scale gang warfare in the city: special police action, social agency services on the street, housing relocation in city housing projects, eventual fighting supremacy of the Puerto Rican gangs, and expanded interest in heroin use.

The increased popularity of heroin was the most important single factor in the decline of gang warfare. Typically, it started among the leaders of a street gang and then spread to other members by emulation and indoctrination. When heroin use became popular in a gang the gang soon broke up into partnerships usually consisting of two youths, with each partnership pursuing the business of acquiring money for heroin and making arrangements for the purchase of the drug.[22] It was not long before the former members of rival gangs were peacefully entering each others' territories in search of money and heroin. They had neither the time nor the inclination for fighting, and could sometimes be observed quietly waiting together for the heroin dealer to come into the block. This peaceful coexistence continues to the present time, with heroin having a major pacifying function. The most important delinquency problems among city street youths now are narcotic addiction and the crimes committed in support of it.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

As the most recent significantly large minority group in the city, Puerto Ricans are objects of suspicion and hostility. That they speak a different language reinforces the predisposition of their non-Puerto Rican neighbors to regard them with suspicion. As one man, a second generation Russian, put it: "You never know what they are talking about; in the old days around here you would hear Italians and Jews talking together in their own language but you would hear a few American words in between and that was okay." One of the derogatory terms applied to Puerto Ricans in New York is "parakeet," referring to their fast-spoken, unfamiliar language.

Another general cause of lower class hostility toward Puerto Ricans is the fact that they are relatively eager competitors in the labor market; they work fast and for minimum wages. In this respect they are known, again in a derogatory way, as "dashers."[23] A man of Irish descent who had been replaced as a truck driver's helper by a Puerto Rican said: "The Spanish want to work fast because they are hot-blooded. They come from a hot climate and all they know is go, go, go. Like me, I take it easy, but they want to go, go, go."

Racial identification is a major problem for Puerto Ricans in New York. Although only about four percent of the Puerto Ricans in New York City are listed in official census figures as non-white, the many gradations of skin color, hair texture and facial structure make a simple distinction difficult. As stated above, there are five major subdivisions of Puerto Rican racial definition recognized by Puerto Ricans. Their white neighbors are less discriminating; in their eyes all Puerto Ricans, at best, are "half white, half black." Puerto Ricans refer to themselves as "Spanish" rather than "Puerto Rican" mainly in the interest of avoiding the color stigma.

The following excerpt from an interview with an Italian informant in the study area is a good example of the automatic prejudice directed at Puerto Ricans:

> Question: How did the old-timers in the neighborhood react to the Puerto Rican people coming in?
>
> Answer: They didn't like it, what with the crime and all they brought in. They were afraid.
>
> Question: Do you mean to say there was little crime in the neighborhood before the Puerto Ricans moved in?
>
> Answer: It was the worst. Dutch Schultz and Vincent Cole and a lot more of those guys were around. There was a lot more crime then. They were a bunch of hard killers and all. Dutch Schultz used to use the park over there to dump his bodies in.

The defensive reactions of Puerto Ricans to the hostility directed at them include ingratiation, withdrawal, aggression. For the adolescents, who are especially sensitive to social discomfort, the main adaptive alternative is to join the "hips" or the "hicks"; that is, to adopt the current street style and behavior of delinquent prone *Americanos* or to maintain a strict cultural integrity incongruent in many ways with their new environment. Faced with this alternative many Puerto Rican youth in a slum community choose the "hip" way of life, whether that means gang membership, as it did in the fifties, or the aloof, unagressive indifference of today's "hipster," for whom narcotics is often a temptation. The Puerto Rican boy who does not join the current mode of street life, with its characteristic style of dress, argot, social behavior, and manner of walking, is ridiculed by the "hip" Puerto Rican youths. He is called "hick," *"jibaro"* (hillbilly), *"arcoiris"* ("rainbow," referring to the bright colored clothes favored by recent Puerto Rican immigrants), *"avocado"* (avocado), "Marine Tiger" (referring to the Liberty freight ship that transported Puerto Ricans to New York before the institution of regular air travel), all derogatory reference to his native Puerto Rican heritage. The chances are that he will isolate himself from New York City culture at large and live exclusively within a narrow Puerto Rican sub-culture in the city. This relegates him to a marginal existence as a fifty dollar a week laborer.

The boy who has the strength to withstand the initial social pressure, without withdrawing, has a chance to work his way toward a more successful adaptation than is inherent in the "hip" or "hick" alternative. He can gradually adopt an "American" style of life without renouncing the basic values of his Puerto Rican heritage. This kind of boy is known in the street as "quiet," a term of respect even when used by a "hipster." It does not refer to one who has retreated from the pressures of the street, but to one who has successfully resisted them. In the street fighting days he was known as one who "don't know nothing unless you bother him, and if you bother him he knows everything," or briefly, "he don't know nothing."

In the study area there are about 400 male Puerto Rican youths between the ages of 15 and 19. Of this number approximately 70 percent are inclined to the "hip" (not necessarily delinquent) way of street life, about 15 percent are identified as "hicks," and the remaining 15 percent can be considered "quiet." About 15 percent of these boys are in school, 35 percent are working, and the remaining 50 percent are idle. It is among the idle 50 percent that the risk of narcotic addiction is high.

Except for the population statistics, which were taken from the 1960 census, the above estimates were derived from independent, direct questioning of youths and adults in the study area. The youths questioned on this subject were in all three social categories -- "hip," "hick," "quiet." There was never more than a five percent variation in their independent estimates. This agreement is not remarkable when one realizes that that the study area is a small ingrown community, similar to a small village, where one's personal life is more or less common knowledge.

FAMILY LIFE

Probably the most significant social factor affecting the Puerto Rican family in New York is the down-grading of the Puerto Rican male. The disadvantages of the Puerto Rican man compared to other men with regard to employment and general social acceptance in New York have important consequences for all members of the family. In order to survive in New York the average husband-wife pair with children must jointly contribute to the family income. With both parents working, younger children are left in the care of relatives and neighbors and are often shifted from one place to another. Children of school age often go unsupervised after school hours. These circumstances obviously contribute to a higher potential for deviant behavior.

In addition to these obvious factors, there are subtle consequences of the down-grading of the Puerto Rican male in New York which can be related to deliquency and other symptomatic behavior among Puerto Ricans, such as narcotic addiction. The strong tradition of male dominance in the Puerto Rican family is difficult to maintain in the many cases where the female members of the family are contributing at least an equal share of the financial support. The Puerto Rican male's sense of pride and self-esteem is, to a large extent, dependent upon his culturally prescribed dominant role in the family. The sudden reduction, and in some cases, reversal, of this role within the family can cripple his confidence and self-esteem and render him ineffective as a family figure. A frequent result of this development is that the man in the family leaves the home, either voluntarily or under pressure from his wife. When this occurs the wife either goes to work or obtains welfare assistance (or both) and, more than likely, improves the financial position of here family. A Puerto Rican woman being supported by welfare assistance will say, often proudly: "I am living with 'Wilfredo'" (a common male Puerto Rican name), jokingly referring to the city "welfare" department.

Puerto Rican men in New York can be described as living *a la canoña*, a Puerto Rican slang phrase, especially popular in New York, which means "under force," or literally, "under the gun." It refers not only to physical force but to any kind of social constraint. It also refers to an act which results from a contrary impulse generated by frustration and desperation. This sense of being *a la canoña* is pervasive among Puerto Rican men in New York and is incorporated into the psychosocial integration of many male Puerto Rican youths.

A study of Malzberg of first admission rates of Puerto Ricans to New York State mental hospitals showed that over a period of two years the admissions of males over females were 22 percent higher (Malzberg, 1956). A different but impressive kind of evidence for the relatively unfavorable impact of New York immigration on the Puerto Rican male can be found in New York City Puerto Rican folklore. In the song "America" from *West Side Story*, a polemical dialogue between Puerto Rican boys and girls takes place regarding the features of New York life. In this dialogue the girls have all the positive lines and the boys have all the negative lines about Puerto Rican life in New York, for example:

> Girls: Everything boom in America, industry boom in America.
> Boys: Twelve in a room in America.
>
> Girls: A new house with more space.
> Boys: Lots of doors slamming in our face.
>
> Girls: I'll get a stylish apartment.
> Boys: Better get rid of your accent.
>
> Girls: Life can be bright in America.
> Boys: If you can fight in America.

Girls: Life is all right in America.
Boys: If you're white in America.

Girls: Here you are free and you have rights.
Boys: So long as you stay on your side.

Girls: Free to be anything you choose.
Boys: Free to wait tables and shine shoes.

Everything grime in America,

Look at the crime in America,

Terrible time in America.

The traditional respect for authority among Puerto Ricans and the concomitants of structure and controls in social, familial and individual behavior, are destroyed in those cases where the male head of the family succumbs to the social and psychological pressures of New York life. Although the women and the children in the family may experience an initial sense of relief and freedom with the collapse of male authority in the family, they soon pay a price for their emancipation. Cultural imperatives are integrated from birth, and a sudden disruption in these patterned, socially inherited modes of adaptation can result in uncertainty, confusion and conflict with the individual. The blessings of New York celebrated by the Puerto Rican women in *West Side Story* are mixed ones, at best.

Narcotic use, especially of the opiates, such as herion, is one solution to the social and psychological problems of Puerto Ricans which result, in part, from the social burdens imposed on a recent immigrant group. Although the solution itself entails a formidable problem--the daily acquisition of an illegal and expensive commodity--it is preferred by a significant number of Puerto Rican men and male adolescents. As one addict informant put it: "When you use drugs you substitute one big problem--which you can concentrate on---or a whole lot of different little problems."

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DRUG ADDICTION IS NOT PHYSIOLOGIC[24]

by
Efren E. Ramirez, M.D.

Many experts in the field of drug addiction are now stressing the addict's physiological dependence and are turning to narcotic substitutes and antagonists as the best way to get addicts off herion and back into society. Psychiatrist Efren Ramirez takes a different tack. He stresses rebuilding the addict's character.

Dr. Ramirez has already had considerable success with his theory. In his native Puerto Rico, where he ran a treatment center for addicts, only seven of the first 124 addicts treated had gone back to taking drugs 3 1/2 years later. That is a relapse rate of 5.6 percent versus a rate of nearly 92 percent for addicts treated in federal institutions. Because of his success, Dr. Ramirez was recruited by Mayor John Lindsay to tackle the problem in New York, where 50 percent of the nation's addicts live.

Since December 1967, when Dr. Ramirez became the city's Commissioner of the Addiction Services Agency, more than 700 addicts have started his three-phase treatment program, which takes from one to three years to complete. His goal is to engage 25,000 addicts in this program within ten years.

When I began working with addicts nine years, I was told that addiction is a chronic, incurable disease. I no longer believe that. Instead, I am convinced that addiction can be cured. I am also convinced that there is no such thing as physiologic addiction and that the addict's problem results from a fundamental but treatable character disorder.

The typical addict has no sense of responsibility, no commitment to anyone or anything. His life is dismally disorganized and he can't seem to learn from his failures. He shows no motivation to be cured, and the current belief in the community that addiction is physiologic just gives the drug addict another excuse for saying, "I can't help myself."

But the addict can help himself. In fact, he is the only one who can effect a cure.

Most psychologists and psychiatrists who try to cure addicts become upset and discouraged by their failure to do so. These professionals are usually trained to handle psychological problems that are fundamentally emotional. Their neurotic patients may have many emotional conflicts, but they have basically solid characters. These patients work with their psychiatrists and respond emotionally to therapy. The addict does not. And because he never appears to suffer significant emotional pain, he may repel the psychiatrist who is trained to help people reach and deal with their feelings.

The addict's lack of motivation also works against the psyciatrist. Orthodox psychological treatment depends on the addict's desire for rehabilitation. The absence of true motivation for a cure is part and parcel of the addict's character disorder.

I do not mean to imply that addicts cannot be reached. On the contrary, I believe everyone wants to become a complete human being. But addicts have not built a psychological structure for following through on their desires. What they need is proof that they can change. This is where the former addict comes in.

Ex-addicts play a major role in the program I have developed. To some extent, my reasons for using them are pragmatic. Lack of money, experience, and personnel is no excuse for not taking action; one must use the means at hand. When I had little else, I did have some ex-addicts who were willing to help others.

A more important reason for using former addicts is that they are the most valuable agents of help we have in trying to reach the person who is still taking drugs. The ex-addict can accept the emotionally shallow and callous characteristics that distress psychiatrists. He can put down the addict for copping out, whereas psychoanalysts might spend their time just trying to understand the addict. And the ex-addict can offer himself as living proof that a cure is possible and desirable.

When the addict first comes into one of our six store-front Phoenix Centers, which are located in neighborhoods with a high incidence of drug users, he usually recites the familiar excuse for feeding his habit: "You know my body craves drugs. I can't live without them." But these lay experts of ours--these ex-addicts--ask him, "What can you do for yourself?" Gradually, using language the addict understands, they persuade him to come to the center every day. The next step is to cut down on his habit a bit. The third step is to get him to enter our program. Actually, if he takes the first two steps, he's already in the program. So skillful are these ex-addicts that our Phoenix Centers hold on to 50 percent of the addicts who walk in the door.

FACE TO FACE WITH HIMSELF

After the addict develops enough of a sense of responsibility to himself to enter the program formally, he stays in a hospital ward for several weeks. There, if he hasn't already come off the drug as a patient at a part-time care center, he is detoxified. In our New York program, 30 of the first 32 addicts admitted to detoxification wards were already clean.

The most intensive phase of the program takes place in a full-time therapeutic community called Phoenix House. For nine or ten months, the addict is relentlessly confronted, day in and day out, with his own character faults. These shortcomings are thrown up to him by addicts, ex-addicts, and professionals. The aim of these confrontations is to undermine his destructive attitudes and to reinforce his productive attitudes. The addict begins to be bothered by guilt and anxiety. Gradually, his defeated, distrustful, and hostile attitude becomes re-oriented toward realistic goals.

By the time the addict reaches the re-entry phase, the program's basic treatment is complete. However he still needs help in making the transition from the therapeutic community to the general society. A few addicts are given permission to live at home during this final phase. But most of them live in a residence dalled Phoenix Re-Entry House, where they, for the most part, run things.

Work with other addicts in the program is an important part of the re-entry phase. First the addict--works as a clinical aide in detoxification wards. Next he becomes a clinical assistant to the staff of a part-time care center. Then he moves on to be a full-time aide in a therapeutic community, sometimes leading the thrice-weekly group encounter sessions. Finally, he is ready for work in a Phoenix Center. There, he is the one who says, "Look, it can be done," to addicts who venture in.

Throughout this re-entry phase--which may last two months or two years--the addict is watched carefully. After a final social, psychiatric, and vocational evaluation by all those who have worked with him, he receives a certificate of rehabilitation. Once certified, the ex-addict can count on the official backing of the City and the State of New York in his efforts to find a respectable, productive place in our society. This is our assurance to him that his involvement in the long rehabilitation program will be rewarded, that he will be socially and vocationally accepted on equal terms with non-addict citizens.

But this is an empty assurance if we do nothing more than rehabilitate the addict. We must also train the society he's returning to.

WORKING WITH THE ADDICT

Here and in Puerto Rico, I have observed that many straight people in the addict's world--friends, relatives, acquaintances--have an unconscious stake in keeping him hooked. They get a vicarious thrill out of seeing him dependent on drugs. So helping these nonaddicts to develop an awareness of the addict's problems and a sense of responsibility toward finding solutions is an integral part of our program. Toward this end, we have set up two city-wide organizations--Rehabilitation of Addicts by Relatives and Employers (RARE) and Addiction Workers Alerted to Rehabilitation and Education (AWARE). We hope that a quarter of a million people will eventually be enrolled in these groups.

Our New York City program is still too new to have graduated any ex-addicts. But 40 addicts are now in the stages of re-entry. They know that our program will not do anything for them or against them. It will only do things with them. And they seem to be responding.

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THE DYNAMICS AND TREATMENT OF THE YOUNG DRUG ABUSER IN AN HISPANIC THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY[25]

by
Herbert J. Freudenberger, Ph.D.[26]

All too frequently young Hispanic drug abusers are placed into a therapeutic community environment with young black and white abusers and eventually drop out of these treatment programs. The cultural, familial and value heritage differences of Hispanic youths require that we take a look at how these young adults may differ from other young polydrug abusers and what can be done to increase their stay in treatment programs.

This paper covers some of the personality dynamics and familial relationships of young Hispanic drug abusers seen in SERA (an Hispanic therapeutic community) and in other New York City outreach programs.

Most of the treatment population are between 12 and 18 years, come from broken homes and have spent a portion of their lives in institutions. They are usually referred by the courts, probation officers, schools or neighborhood social service departments, and often come into treatment under pressure. Few come in voluntarily or are brought in by members of their family. If they are accompanied by a member of the family, it is usually a mother who no longer knows how to cope with the child and is looking to the program for some solutions. Obviously the "pressured treatment" approach will have implications from the very start as to the young adults' motivations for their staying in treatment.

At the outset, a major aspect of treatment is to hold the kids in the program. We do this by making them feel at home as much as possible. They are shown around the facility and introduced to other young people already in the program. This helps alleviate their negative attitudes, as well as begin the treatment process. The approach is to individualize the treatment and meet the client's specific needs within the structure of the program. Many of the youngsters come from the surrounding neighborhoods and know each other. A friend or an admired street hero in the facility may serve as a role model figure and can act as a "bridge" between the inductee and the program. It is more difficult for a Latino younster to identify with a successful black or white addict role model than it is to identify with another Puerto Rican. The importance of each minority group having a sense of appropriate identification is often curcial for treatment success. As staff members of minority programs it is incumbent on us to keep in mind that if there are Latino residents, then we need Latino staff; the same applies for Asian Americans, native Americans and Mexican Americans. This does not mean that there need be exclusivity, but the majority of the treatment staff in a dominant minority group neighborhood ought be from the same ethnic background.

As the inductee moves along, she/he is seen by a case worker or social worker who conducts an initial case summary interview. Some of the material elicited in the interview deals with family constellation, drug abuse history, physical description, educational background, medical history, institutionalizations, foster home placement, court cases pending and the case worker's impressions. Most of our social workers are either bilingual or Puerto Rican which aids in communication.

A composite picture of the typical young polydrug abuser found in the therapeutic community is that of a person who is the product of a broken home where the father's role reverses as the family moves from Puerto Rico to the mainland. The father is the authority figure and the mother plays a subordinate role in the traditional Puerto Rican family structure. However, once the family moves to the mainland as a unit, or the father comes alone initially, or the mother comes with the children and lives with another family member, the economic break up and separation of the family structure tends to create cultural shock within the family--a shock often traumatic to its young members and very difficult to reverse once started.

Economic realities immediately confront the family on their arrival. Either the father has taken up with another woman and his ability to provide for the family is lessened in the U.S. Or if the family arrives as a whole unit, a roleshift reversal occurs wherein the mother becomes more capable of earning a salary than the father. This has serious consequences in terms of who retains authority within the family. The father may react to the shock by becoming brutal, punishing and sexually acting out in order to assert his felt loss of strength, power and machismo. The mother, on the other hand, is realistically economically stronger, but is still battling with her self concept of old, that of the subordinate and passive mother-wife-woman-little girl. The mother in her conflicts becomes a more dependent, child-like, hysterical person but also becomes more economically self-sufficient. The family's previous cohesiveness is threatened further and more confusion ensues from the youngster's behavior.

The all too usual picture is clearly portrayed in Piri Thomas's novel *Down These Mean Streets* (1967). The young adult, once she/he gets onto the streets of New York, more and more identifies with the peer group. The peer group of New York is much less respecting, more aggressive and competitive, and more self-assertive than in Puerto Rico. Some families react to this beginning generation conflict by sending their children back to Puerto Rico and others begin the never ceasing battle for control and dominance. It is sad to hear how many of the children have been on continued shuttle fights between members on the mainland. All these movements further the alienation, the loneliness and the lack of cohesive on-going identification for mature and stable growth to occur. Their identification is often a composite of many people, e.g. an older sister, an aunt, a grandmother, step-father, an uncle or older brother. Furthermore, too many of these people have not been in the children's lives long enough to bring about any real sense of substance and solid bases of personality formation.

When these young people first enter treatment programs, they come in from the streets. They are, as one staff member described them, "street-wise and street-strong, but seriously suffering from ego weaknesses." Many of them are "tough" and have learned that in order to live, they have had to do so through an imposed image. For many, acquiring an image has necessitated their closing off any exchange of intimate or trusting feelings toward others. They can't afford to recognize or admit to human feelings. To do so might appear as being weak, ineffectual and inadequate. Their survival image is further expressed in their attire, their language, and the roles they play out for us, both manifest and fantisized. One often finds that they have great difficulty communicating verbally. They appear all locked up within themselves, suffer from serious emotional deprivation, a sense of emptiness and loss. This personality picture may be a function, as previously indicated (Freudenberger 1971), of educational as well as interpersonal lacks.

Therefore, they come into the program undisciplined, unstructured, directionless and for the most part, lost. As indicated in a previous paper, they are true nomads of the 70's. (Freudenberger & Overby 1969). They have learned to roam the streets so well, that no place is truly their home.

Many do not have an address that has lasted for more than a few months. They have been shifted about so often from relative to relative from one location to another and from institution to institution that they have acquired an institutional survival syndrome. This in turn adds to their character "toughness," and contributes to their lack of sensing that there really is a place for them anywhere on this earth.

In time, their "world" becomes a limited one, circumscribed by the neighborhood or institution. This often results in an extreme narrowing of their perspective on the total world. The writer has the impression that their emotional and environmental deprevations have led to a perceptual deprivation. They are poor readers and manifest a poor reasoning facility. In their need to blunt themselves from the brutality of their environment they have stunted their psychic and cognitive development. Their emotional deprivation has led to an improverisment of conceptual abilities. They view life in a very narrow almost "tunnel-vision" manner. They do not see more than one solution to a problem; their problem-solving approach is often simplistic and very concrete. It is as if they could not allow themselves the luxury of entertaining more than one solution. Street brutality survival requires simplistic solutions.

Initially, we sought to bring more creative aspects in to the program, such as working in art, theater, music and crafts. At the beginning, they will only accept the familar and will reject the introduction of new projects or materials. A combination of the Latino background and lack of exposure leads to the immediate turning away and disparaging comments about the novel activities. Time, effort and persistence permits some to open up sufficiently and look at something different.

Further perceptual problems which may in part be a consequence of their past, includes a poor time sense as well as difficulties keeping appointments. If we do not take into account that some of this is the Hispanic culture but seek to arbitrarily impose an Anglo-oriented value system, then once again we are capable of losing the young people during treatment. The helper needs to not impose Anglo identities on Latino children.

As a group, they are not open or flexible. In their rigidities, they hold on tightly to themselves so that to open up would mean their loose ego structure would break. Their ego structure appears so diffuse and their infantile, unresolved needs seem to be so dependent that they will follow anyone who appears strong. Others who cannot accept any dependency needs within must remain tough and inflexible, and are very difficult to work with therapeutically. Regardless of what kind of teenager we are working with, we need to recognize that the presenting symptoms are only covers for deeper and more underlying disturbances. The Latino adolescent often uses drugs to cover more significant pathology, such as life problems, marital and family discords, depression and feelings of loneliness. Programs should be cognizant that once the character defenses and psychosomatic symptoms are removed and the drug abuse is stopped then a more intensive therapeutic process needs to be introduced.

Further major presenting symptoms are in the nature of depressions. Many youngsters are also given to lying, stealing, violence and brutality. They have suffered all sorts of sexual abuse in their past, either from members of their immediate family, or from strangers. This is especially true of the girl residents, many of whom have harrowing tales of rape and incest. For some, this may have done much to further their acting out and asserting themselves in the sexual arena, consequently, frequent abortions and pregnancies are a part of their histories.

Discipline, as most of us know it in the traditional sense just has not been present for the young population. They left school at an early age, or if they attended bodily, they did not get much out of the experience except further derisiveness regarding authority.

Another dynamic is the amount of discipline they can initially tolerate. This is evident in their inability to adjust to the youth component and to the school structure within the facility. To keep their interest in school, a great deal of teaching flexibility is required. A lot of individualized instruction, bi-lingual education, careful selection and diversity of materials are needed. Since discipline has often broken down in the home, their frustration tolerance is low; therefore, the role of structure in the therapeutic community becomes crucial. The typical Hispanic youngsters who enter the program are paranoid--a paranoia realistically based insofar as their street and neighborhood world is concerned. Confronting them with their reality as it is at the moment is crucial. The first reality we seek to convey is that they are in big trouble; that they are not able to make it in the way they have been living, that they may be suffering from hepatitis, venereal diseases, vitamin and nutritional deficiencies, no money, poor education, no work skills and that their survival ability is becoming increasingly less, from day to day, and as they grow older. (Freudenberger 1973)

The true value of a therapeuric community or out-patient environment for Latino youngsters, is that it will provide a structured, consistent and human surrounding where a regrowing can take place. The youngsters must feel a sense of protection and need to feel that they are offered a high support system. In this regrowing process the staff of the facility must be constant, trustworthy, caring and flexible. They need to do good re-parenting. The regrowing, through daily demonstration, requires developing new role models. This happens through simple job skills, activities, sports, in school or in the kitchen. All of these activities are so structured that they will teach the importance of having a personal routine of life, including a system of personal values. The restructuring process requires therapeutic treatment, a kind of treatment that in not the hard line encounter. Young people have not lived long enough or solidified enough within themselves that their defenses are impregnable. They require confrontation for their lies, their con, their manipulations and their perceptual distortions, but this can be done within rap groups, individual conseling, family therapy sessions and the on-going consistent structure of the program.

Initially, we at SERA leaned leavily on the encounter as our tool of treatment intervention. Our staff was familiar with this technique as a consequence of their own treatment experiences, and we believed it would be a viable means of reaching these teenagers. We found in time that we were in error. We were not reaching them; they were fooling us and were really using the program in a street-wise manipulative sense without being touched.

As a result we now have introduced a case conference approach. Each young adult is presented to the social worker and then to the whole staff, from the director to the house manager; the nurse, the teacher and the clinicians participate. We discuss our own observations of the younster and we share in the development of an overall treatment plan. This approach has reduced the manipulations, the rivalries and distortions among the staff, as well as between the staff and the kids. it has decreased the residents' ability to go from one staff member to another with different stories. The social worker refers the more disturbed youngsters to the psychologist or psychiatrist for further evaluation.

Youth training was introduced to the staff since they have had minimal experience with young polydrug abusers. Although most of the staff is Puerto Rican, they tend to be older addicts and are not as aware, or as understanding in treating and dealing with young people as we initially assumed. The old therapeutic treatment approaches just do not work with this population, and the older staff members' education must be upgraded.

Our family therapy sessions up to this time have not been successful. We have sent workers into the homes and have met with a great deal of opposition. Although the therapists are fluent in Spanish (some even come from the neighborhood), gaining access to the home has been difficult. If we find someone home we are met with all sorts of promises, but the mother or father does not show up for the appointment. We have sought to have meetings in the home, as well as in our facility, but with a minimum of success. We seem to be dealing with men and women who are having a diffiuclt time just coping with the realities of their daily existence. They are glad that we are working with their children, but in some ways seem to have given over their responsibility of raising their children, to us. Many are tired, overworked, not satisfied with their lives, troubled and conflicted and involved with basic survival struggles. But we will keep on trying to see if a more fruitful family treatment contact is feasible in the future.

Hispanic adolescent drug abusers are visually oriented in terms of learning. They have spent a great deal of their childhood in front of the television and in the movies. This has furthered a sense of passivity, a need to be done for and not to initiate. The acquisition of knowledge appears to have been largely through the visual and auditory areas. They do not read much, but do retain what they have seen or heard. Consequently, our teachers use an approach to learning that involves giving simple directions, repeating them if necessary, and beginning learning stimulation through the seeing and hearing senses, rather than insisting primarily on increasing reading skills. Initially, reading bores them and "turns them off." Therefore, we seek to reach them where they are at, and not impose our expected rules of anglo learning and behavior.

Their creativity and self-creative reliance have suffered much because of their life orientation. This, in turn, requires of us an awakening of some potential for their accomplishing in a more imaginative manner. Many of the Hispanic adolescents channel a large amount of their creativity and self-expression into the areas of attire, dance, music, language, sex and violence. They do not seem to know that there are additional avenues of self-expression. A Latino youth treatment program needs to recognize this.

A deadening and dulling seems to have occurred with their sensory awareness. They appear to have been so flooded by loud sounds, the high playing music, the shrieking, the bellowing voices of their neighborhoods that they have learned to shut down parts of themsleves, maybe to gain some inner private space. There appears to be a real preoccupation with physical space. Their gangs are very much concerned with not having their street, their "turf" (space), invaded. Their home conditions are usually extremely crowded and completely lacking in living, eating, studying and sleeping space. A place where one can be private and alone is offered only at night in some dark corner, on a roof, in a cellar, under a bed cover, in an abandoned building - or within the private darkness of alcohol and drugs.

Personal privacy, a private time for oneself is not known, nor is it even conceived. Yet the constant bombardment of their senses, their bodies, their thoughts, and their very lives leads to a further hardening of their psyches, an increasing of their character armor. We observe this holding in, ("stuffing") and repressing of feelings in their rap groups wherein tremendous rages and emotional outbursts occur. They dump their furies and frustrations on each other without any sensitivity or mercy. It is as if compassion would only lead to self destruction. We seek to make the encounters a rap session where talking, as well as confrontation may take place. This approach provides an opportunity for the expression of dignity (dignidad) for the adolescent, dignidad without assault. The *ability to be* is critical for development of the Latino. This non-assaultive approach may be reinforced by teaching them how to really listen to each other without being critical, and to accept the uniqueness of themselves and of people. We use sensitivity and gestalt group techniques to permit the expression of warmth and compassion without the threat of laughter, ridicule or criticism. We try to provide an atmosphere of good supportive sharing. Further, we need to teach them how to be sensitive to each other. We need to help them to learn, often for the first time, what it means to be close to a person and aware of their feelings.

A way that we at SERA accomplish this sense of privacy is to permit them to bring in personal belongings, to have Teddy bears and dolls on the beds and dressers, to give time off for themselves without bombarding them with therapeutic explanations. All these approaches help the youngsters experience the beginnings of private space if they wish or need it, and teach them a further sensitivity to themselves.

For Theresa, a 14 year old, to be able to place some dolls on her bed, without "an older brother" tearing them up in her absence, was truly a sight to behold. At first, she could not believe that once she left the room she would come back and still find the dolls - and in one piece. Personal property is a very big issue. For some, like Adolfo, a shirt of his own was a first. He always wore the shirts of an older brother, and when he had his own polo shirt, he became very possessive of it. The day that another kid ripped it up, Adolfo ran away from the program. It was fortunate for us that we knew his neighborhood hiding places and were able to send a teacher out to find him, talk to him and have him return. The degree of impoverishment of the Latino kids is startling.

The writer has also found that to feel hurt, to feel sad, to feel disappointed - these are often unacceptable and non-demonstrated emotions. They are hidden and denied because they are feelings that have usually been dealt with in the environment by means of derision, disparagement, ridicule, avoidance and contempt, but rarely, if at all, by means of acceptance, understanding and sympathy. Latino parents, because of their own problems, can be very tough on their children.

For some, anger is difficult to express because of fear of reprisals, or because of felt homosexuality, or effeminancy, or because of insecurity. The anger is then often turned inward, with suicide or suicidal attempts often quite common. This holding in is often demonstrated in self-criticism, in their low self-esteem, and in the ease with which they can be hurt or made to feel inferior by others.

Their fears of the dark, of being alone and their sexual insecurities often make them organize and stay within cliques formed around sexual acting out, sports interests or a common culture. They often try to bring the gang structure into a treatment facility. This is because the gang is the only sense of belonging and security that many have known. Therefore, they seek to bring into the facility the same clique control and behavior within which they have lived. As indicated in an earlier section of this paper, the youngsters who know each other can become a "bridge" between new residents and those who have been in the program for a period of time. The clique phenomenon may be a reasonably successful one as an initial means of holding on to the acting out, tough and non-communicative youngster.

Most of the young adults, when they first enter the program, suffer from severe vitamin deficiencies and malnutrition. They have accumulated a number of very poor eating habits and as a rule do not know how to care for their bodily needs. Part of regrowing and parenting ought to deal with teaching them how to eat properly, to incorporate culturally meaningful food, not to anglicize the diet, but to eat in a healthful manner. This is part of the value building process that we use. To eat better and take better care of oneself has within it an implicit structure of personal and economic self-caring.

Further initial bodily symptoms and diseases range from neglected venereal infections to bad teeth, pimples, filthy hair and rashes. These are all signs of neglect and emotional deprivation. Teaching cleanliness and body care is in order. We do that through thorough medical and dental examinations. The in-house staff as well as neighborhood hospitals are utilized.

The young adults suffer from serious value distortions when they enter the program. Honesty, loyalty, trust, caring and affection are either distorted, confused or missing. The program seeks to lay the foundations for value building through close attention to and steady insistence on some very basic house chores, such as putting cigarette ash in an ashtray, making a bed, changing shirts, socks and underwear, and getting up on time. These are very simple functions, yet without them no real personality reorganization can occur and no foundation may be laid for future personality restructuring.

A program that works with deprived Hispanic young people needs to be aware of the desperate, non-caring, non-educating conditions from which many have come, as well as the very basic life structure changes that must occur in order for growth to take place. Merely to do therapy, to go through encounters with or to "head-trip" a resident, often leads to a very poor outcome. By themselves, these measures do not stand up under the test of time, because they do not adequately prepare the adolescent for re-entry into the stream of society. That therapeutic programs ultimately face a high recidivism rate is due to the many youngsters who are able to con their way through a program, learn the argot of treatment community survival, but are never really touched in the process.

It must be remembered that a significant number of those entering the program do not realize the depth of their inner disturbances and have a lack of awareness about all areas of their lives - educational, lingual, sexual, economic - as well as emotional. Many are suffering from disturbances that border on the psychotic, which requires of us an awareness of the limited goals for improvement that we ought to set initially.

Looking further at the Hispanic drug abuser's family, the father is often either a tyrant to be feared or an unpredictable man. He can be drunk or happy, cruel or disinterested. The relationship of the Puerto Rican son to his father often starts out as the son being submissive to the father, but later a real acting out of dominance over the father, either at home or on the streets, takes place.

The Puerto Rican father is often an immature man who appears to be overwhelmed by his role and responsibilities. He tends to regress to infantile behavior, has real difficulty facing adversities and tends to run away from troubles, either through alcohol, gambling or women. The Puerto Rican father who has been transplanted from Puerto Rico to a New York barrio must cope with a changing material vs. spiritual value system, a dichotomy of authority roles, based on wage earnings between his wife and himself; a having to deal with a sense of fatalism and passivity as opposed to an energetic and active coping with life. Further, he must try to overcome the peer role models of all the other men on the streets surrounding him who have given up and no longer much care. This is the concept of a man that the young Puerto Rican boy must seek to live up to or negatively measure himself against.

The Puerto Rican mother is often a defeated woman who strives to maintain some control over her son, either through bribed, guilt-producing tactics, excessive indulgent affections or seductive behavior. In time she tends to lose control over her sons and may seek help from an institutional authority, be it the schools, the law or a treatment facility. Her relationship with her daughters, on the other hand, is usually one of making excessive demands, being over-protective and over-disciplinary. The sad facts are that too often the male Puerto Rican child takes to the streets, joins youth gangs, and tends to gravitate to and adopt male role models that are often antisocial in nature. The girl, on the other hand, tends to become inadequate, has a poor sexual model to emulate and finds herself in a value conflict between attempting to remain the sexual virgin that is often expected by her mother, or the sexually experiencing young woman that her peer culture imposes on her.

Sexism is very rampant in the Puerto Rican community as well as in the treatment programs. Women are still relegated to subordinate and secondary roles in the family. Too many young drug-abusing girls merely find a semblance of femininity through early sex or tend to evolve life patterns dependent on and masochistically involved with men who are often economically supported through the girls work or prostitution. In spite of this, the girls once they become young women or mothers are viewed as hopeless, weak, dependent and helpless.

In Puerto Rico there is, for so many, more of an identity, a sense of pride, of community, an extended family and a culture than in New York City. Once they come to New York, disintegration sets in. Their initial family structure is Spanish, but once here, such a mixture of roles occurs, such difficulties of adjustment in terms of first generation and second generation clashes arise, that the Puerto Rican family is ill prepared economically, vocationally, linguistically, educationally and psychically to cope with the consequent urban pressures. Further adjustment difficulties are heightened through their continued viewing of television wherein they see that so many people "out there" appear to have much more than they. Jealousies, rage, competition and wants are further aroused through this visual awakening and bombardment.

Additionally, frustration is heightened in the school system that too often does not relate to Hispanic children. The teacher's inability to speak Spanish, often not understanding the subtleties, innuendos, images, associations and special meanings of gestures and body language, further serves to enlarge the barrier between the children and the anglicized environment. The Hispanic setting, where most of the staff speaks Spanish, is their first contact with staff that really understands them. So many talk of wanting and enjoying some of their therapy and counseling sessions when conducted in Spanish. At SERA at least half the treatment is in Spanish. A religious conflict exists for many Hispanic youths. It is a conflict between the large and impersonal catholic church that many have known, and the more intimate and personal pentecostal church that their mothers attend. Many turn to herbs, magic and amulets for answers because it is part of a cultural heritage. A treatment environment needs to be aware of the importance of these religious practices in Latino youngsters. It may be another means for assisting communication, reaching youngsters and encouraging personal Latino identity.

Our initial inability to relate to young Hispanic adults may be a consequence of their severe turn off from their parents and authority. There is a lack of trust. Their fear is a cover for tremendous anger and rage, tending to express itself in homicide and suicide. Along with this rage there is a shaky sexual identification, which may be a consequence of the immature regressed (father) man and the often seductive, hopeless (mother) woman.

The first thing in treatment the youngsters require is basic structure that we seek to heighten through individual counseling. They need to be allowed to establish trust, affection and real friendship. The reparenting is necessary because so many essentially raised themselves, and had to be their own parents. Since they lack of ability to be consistent for any length of time, we must teach them the concepts of consistency and constancy.

Yet, in spite of the need to show consistency, there is also the need to show flexibility. Room for some degree of acting out and regression must be allowed within the safety of treatment.

The importance of basic structure with flexibility for the Hispanic youth cannot be overemphasized. The value of this structure requires that the *staff be consistent* but not militant. A staff cannot operate with dissention, personal anxieties and conflicts and in turn expect a youth to respond constructively.

One of the main elements that a treatment environment offers to young people is a *new model of living*, a model they did not find in their home environment, a model within which they can begin to find a sense of themselves. This may be accomplished through the *routines, the schedules, the time, and the vocational and educational expectations* that are set. For some youngsters, those who are more in touch with what they want and who they are, it is also important to convey to them a sense of personal and vocational alternatives. Not all need to or should go by the middle-class value route. Some may be much happier if they are shown alternatives. A staff ought to be flexible enough to encourage alternative life styles. This author has observed however, that because the Latino and Chicano are just beginning to reach for some of the life style values of the Anglos, that it is difficult to change their course. It might be necessary to raise the consciousness of the Latino staff so they may be aware of alternatives. An apartment, a car, new furniture may not be of the same importance for all, if they are given the opportunity to reflect.

The staff serves as a *role model* for identification for these young people. We find it essential to also have young staff people working in our program.

It is important to point out that initially drug abusers form a strong attachment to people who care about them. They tend to become attached to strong people, but in doing so, they often cannot differentiate between *strong* and *good*. This is, of course, a result of what they learned on the street, and requires clarification.

In the therapeutic community, the young quickly tend to form strong attachments. For some, this is a first expression of dependency and affection. The staff, therefore, needs to be aware of its own countertransference feelings, in order to avoid encouraging dependency. Correctly used, these first feelings of dependency and affection, in those who have never before allowed themselves to open up to anyone, can be a huge force in regrowth. These feelings can also be used to illuminate the fact that *tough* does not have to mean *unfeeling* and that affection for someone does not have to mean losing onself. These feelings can also be used to get over the idea that *consistency* does not have to mean *severity* and that *strong* people can be *good* people, that *good* does not mean *weak*. From that point on therapy can progress

In conclusion, the observations made in this paper concerning the unique dynamics and treatment approaches of young drug abusers in a Hispanic setting will serve to point to the need for careful individual study of all the *other* different ethnic groups requiring therapy. Each group has its own personality dynamics and familial relationship.

Each ethnic group has its own cultural, linguistic, ethnic, educational and adjustment particularities to be considered. We cannot lump all "ethnics" together and expect to be able to reach them. The young Latino drug abuser is a very different individual from the young Black, White, native American or Chicano drug abuser. The emerging young Asian American drug abuser is very different from all of these. The sooner we attempt to discover, familiarize ourselves with, respect, and work within the differences between individuals, the sooner will we arrive at more successful treatment methods useful for all. We need to incorporate in the treatment programs a sense of cultural identification, history, customs and personal natures for all ethnic groups. Each has something to say to us; it is up to us to listen.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL COMPONENTS OF THE ALCOHOLISM PROBLEM IN PUERTO RICO

by
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It is my priviledge to share with you my daily living experience in the process of helping individuals and families affected by alcoholism in Puerto Rico.

Let me state from the very beginning that I am not going to describe a scientific research on said problem. We will talk about my subjective experience during twelve years, where as participant observer, I have learned and go on learning to understand persons, subjected to conflicts and problems related to alcoholism.

As you all know, social problems are part of the socio-cultural context where they originate and develop. It is within and through said context that we have developed the therapeutic intervention services for alcoholics in Puerto Rico. I hope that our particular experience might be useful to understand the Puerto Rican alcoholics problem in New York, Chicago, or any other part of the United States of America.

Attitudes toward drinking and the ways in which the drinks are used, constitute a socio-cultural pattern which propitiates the existence of a grave problem of abuse of alcoholic beverages and alcoholism.

It is customary among us to drink distilled spirits with high alcohol concentration, i.e., rum and whiskey. In 1972 the relative consumption of alcoholic beverages was as follows: 53 percent of distilled spirits; 44 percent beer, and three (3) percent wine. Usually drinks are taken consequently and rapidly in an empty stomach without the person being accustomed to drink low alcohol concentration beverages such as wine, before or during dinner.

In every family gathering reunion or party among close friends of middle and high socio-economic levels, it is customary to postpone dinnertime, even after past midnight, to serve drinks preferred by guests. It is assumed that if they eat early, it is not possible to get drunk and thus, the party cannot be enjoyed.

There is another custom which is becoming ingrained - the so called "social Fridays" which are extended frequently to Saturdays and Sundays. Drinking is more excessive during these days. Men go out alone to "drink," generally to the point of intoxication. This is a way of showing that the man is still free. It should be pointed out that freedom is associated with the weekends to get intoxicated. This establishes a drinking pattern which facilitates alcohol's use and abuse.

The old Puerto Rican custom of serving coffee to guests is almost disappearing. The usual is to offer alcoholic drinks, regardless of visiting time. Generally, it is impossible to refuse them since this is considered bad manners. Children's birthdays are becoming an adults' party where distilled spirits are drank up to the point of intoxication. Children are allowed to observe said behavior but are not permitted to drink in their homes, which generally leads them to carry out their first drinking experience as an adolescent away from home. Parents disapprove and reproach their youngsters when they drink alcoholic beverages. This situation creates ambivalence and guilt feelings towards drinking, a feeling present in cultures where alcohol abuse and alcoholism constitute a grave psychosocial problem.

The man who drinks in excess is a "whole man" (latin cult to 'machismo'). There is such a cult in our society. To drink distilled spirits with a high alcohol concentration is something done by men, while soft drinks are for women. Alcohol use is encouraged among friends and seems to be very important for man's acceptance among his peers.

There are different groups which accept intoxication, thus it is frequent in their meetings. Those present accept it with a certain degree of tolerance. Generally, the intoxicated person is the soul of the party. The person who refuses a drink is considered antisocial and is pressed to accept distilled spirits. During the last decades to have a bar in the home with all kinds of alcoholic beverages, has become a status symbol. Social controls are very weak in a complex society as ours. A problem drinker in a group who tries to face him with his problem, can motive to a more tolerant group where his behavior is reinforced.

We have a prosperous rum industry which contributes to the Island's economy. Our product is well known and we feel proud to produce the best rum in the world. During the fiscal year 1971-1972, the Treasury Department of Puerto Rico collected 83.8 million tax dollars for local consumption and 91.8 million dollars in duties for exported alcoholic beverages. The industry advertises its product through television without any restrictions. It presents alcoholic beverages associated with sex, happiness, social status and Puerto Rican identity. Some advertisements suggest to a young depressed man that a drink is good to reduce his depressive mood.

During the year 1970 the Treasury Department of Puerto Rico issued a total of 23,104 permits to establishments for Retail selling of alcoholic drinks. This represents an average of 117 inhabitants for each permit issued. But if we take into consideration that young persons under 18 years of age constitute approximately half of the total population of Puerto Rico, in 1970 there was an average of one retail establishment authorized to sell alcoholic drinks for each 59 inhabitants, among persons between the age group of 18 or more.

The socio-cultural pattern already described, renders difficult the possibility of identifying in time alcoholism problems. An alcoholic is identified as such only when his problem becomes chronic and he suffers physical and mental impairments. At this stage, he is labeled despectively as "atomic" and is alienated or rejected. "Atomic" is equivalent to the term skidrow. His label as an "atomic" offers him an image, a role and an identity with which he identifies himself, thus reinforcing his behavior. General hospitals tend to reject the alcoholic. Professionals called upon to intervene, see in the alcoholic a person incapable of rehabilitation.

The following data constitute indirect evidence of how the problem manifests itself and its magnitude. The death rate for liver cirrhosis in Puerto Rico in 1970 was 23.0 for each 100,000 inhabitants. The men's rate was 34.5 compared to 12.0 for women. Doctor Sidney Kaye, of the Institute of Legal Medicine, carried out studies during three consecutive years (1968-70), which revealed that alcohol was found in the blood in 50 percent of traffic accidents' deaths. In 1970 an alcohol level of 0.15 or more was found in the blood in 63.3 percent of the cases and a level between 0.10 to 0.15 in 21.3 percent of positive cases.

The Alcoholism Program carried out a special study of the reports rendered by the Institute of Legal Medicine of Puerto Rico covering a total of 1,000 autopsies made during calendar year 1968. The findings show that 210 cases, or 11 percent of the total, indicated fatty infiltration of the liver, pathological condition associated to prolonged alcohol ingestion.

An analysis of data obtained from the Treasury Department reveals that alcohol consumption increased from 2.33 million gallons of absolute alcohol in 1961-62 to 4.36 million of absolute alcohol in 1971-72. The per-capita consumption in the population over 15 years old increased during the same period from 1.75 to 2.38 absolute gallons per person. In 1970 Puerto Rico had a per capita of 1.26 gallons of absolute alcohol in distilled spirits whereas France and United States had a consumption of 1.18 and 1.15 gallons of absolute alcohol per person, respectively.

A survey carried out by the Alcohol Safety Action Program from June 8 to 25, 1972 during that period from 7:00 P.M. to 3:00 A.M. revealed that 38 percent of the drivers interviewed had ingested alcoholic drinks with an alcohol blood level of .01 or more. It is also revealed that during the week-ends, 43 percent had ingested alcohol. The highest incidence was found Saturdays from 1:00 A.M. to 3:00 A.M. when 62 percent had ingested alcohol and 14 percent were incapacitated with a concentration of .01 or more.

Mr. Jose H. Peterson carried out a census of alcoholics confined in the penal institutions of Puerto Rico on June 7, 1972, which revealed that, approximately 10 percent of the penal population was classified as alcoholic in spite of the fact that there is no state law forbidding drunkenness as such. During fiscal year 1970-71, 16.5 percent of the admissions to the Psychiatric Hospital were alcoholic patients.

In the absence of direct methods to objectively determine the number of alcoholics, we have used the formula elaborated by doctor E. M. Jellinek. Applying this formula, it is estimated that there are in Puerto Rico 100,000 alcoholics.

I have briefly enumerated the socio-cultural components and attitudes propitiating the alcoholism problem. Let us see now the positive socio-cultural patterns which we have tried to capitalize in the development of intervention and treatment programs for alcohol addicts. We sincerely believe that the positive forces are stronger than the negative ones. Let us discuss this aspect now.

It is immediately surprising in a program for services to alcoholics in Puerto Rico, the fact that a relative, a friend and/or a neighbor bring for the first time the majority of the client in crisis. There are lonely alcoholics, alienated from society, but they are a minority. Even some of them come to treatment accompanied by a relative. There have been instances of persons who live under a bridge, who have been picked-up by a friend or relative and brought for treatment. This is a vivid example of the strong family ties characterizing our culture.

The Puerto Rican family is characterized by a strong sense of solidarity and cohesion. The face to face relationship keeps still its traditional strength. Family kindships tend to be kept even at a distance. This can be illustrated by the constant travel back and forth of Puerto Ricans from and to the Island and the Mainland.

When the economic conditions are very grave, specially in deprived areas, the primary relationship is still kept. Many families without adequate economic means bring their distressed families to their homes.

It is possible for you to live in a neighborhood where each one seems to concern himself only with what is happening in his home. But if anything happens, even a slight incident or misfortune, there is a strong possibility that all the neighbors will come to your help. All of them want to express their feelings and help in everything possible, even if it implies self-sacrifice. Even though in the metropolitan areas, it seems that the nuclear family predominated in the rest of the Island, the extended family is the predominant pattern. All relatives are seen as members of the family group.

Traditionally, the Puerto Rican female considers her main role as that of a good mother and wife, who is self-fulfilled through the rearing of her children. The Puerto Rican woman is still very concerned about her children. Her most fervent desire is the preservation of her home, in instances, up to the point of self-sacrifice. It can be said that the woman is self-realized through her husband and children whereas that man does it through his work. This feeling is so powerful in the Island that there is a tendency to hold the woman as the responsible party when a marriage breaks down.

I do not want to imply that there have been no changes. These have come about as the Puerto Rican woman has emancipated herself when leaving the home to work and through her increased professionalization. This has led her to assume a more decisive role in society. But the cultural tradition is still strong and persistent, which makes the woman tb feel guilty when she leaves the home to work leaving her children to be cared by strangers, or when forced to break the marriage by divorce.

We consider this force so vital in our family life that we use it as part of a treatment strategy by involving a relative on it. Even when the alcoholic comes alone for help, it is always possible to bring a relative into the treatment process. We get the cooperation we want in the great majority of the cases. Once the alcoholic's relative is confronted with his problem, it is possible that guilty feeling will be developed if no help is offered to his alcoholic relative.

Sixty-six (66) percent of our clients are married and live with their immediate family; those who are single, live with their parents. The Puerto Rican alcoholic's wife tends to stay with him and refuses to divorce him. Only 15 percent of our clients are divorced. It is possible that some of you might be thinking that these wives are masochists, domineering or aggressive. Other may be wondering if they derive secondary gains by living with the problem drinker. These are psychological explanations.

My clinical experience has shown me that there are also cultural factors which are part of these women's idiosyncracies, already explained. This is one of the reasons for the involvement of the alcoholic's wife in treatment. She should be allowed to express her hostility without feeling anxious due to guilty feelings. Frequently, when the only solution is a divorce, she must be helped so as to do it without the least disturbances or conflicts.

In the event of the alcoholic woman, the maternal feeling is so ingrained that when threatened with the possibility of taking her children away from her, she feels motivated enough to abstain herself from alcohol. We have seen many alcoholic mothers rehabilitated impelled only by the desire to keep their children. To keep and bring them up gives sense to her life. Obviously, this confrontation must be done by a person with whom she has established a positive therapeutic relationship. To tell a Puerto Rican mother that she is not an adequate mother is the worst insult that can be thrown to her and could develop in her strong hostility and guilty feelings driving her into a depressive state.

The gregarious characteristics already mentioned allows for the establishment of walk-in clinics which relieves us of the need of hospitalizing many clients. Thus, we can keep out of the hospital the majority of the clients since we have always a community resource to help the problem drinker in crisis wherever we know how to use and involve such a resource in the therapeutic process.

Another characteristic of the Puetro Rican alcoholic is the ease and rapid relationship he establishes with the person who tries to help him. Generally, in the out patient clinical services an initial evaluating interview becomes a therapeutic one, as soon as a positive relationship is established, which permits to confront the client with his behavior.

Our alcoholic patient has deep respect for the doctor or any professional found in the Treatment Center acting as therapist. When the person realizes that the doctor accepts and understands, his self-esteem is reinforced, his sense of dignity and self-respect is enhanced. As a reaction to the relationship, he establishes a commitment at the emotional level, submitting himself to treatment where it is implied that he will not drink alcoholic beverages.

The relationship between the alcoholic in crisis and his therapist, besides the availability of a relative or friend, allows us to establish ambulatory detoxification services. In the initial interview, a positive therapeutic relationship is immediately established. We explain to the client the ambulatory detoxification process and the relative is involved so that he assumes responsibility for the client during said period. The patient is assisted by a nurse who injects him intramuscular tranquilizers and intravenous fluids. This injection relieves the abstinence symptoms, reinforcing his desire to keep away from using alcohol since he is aware that he can reduce his pain and anxiety in another way.

After spending the whole morning in this process, the patient is sent home. He is given medicines to use orally during the rest of the day and during the night. When accepting this medicine, the patient feels committed to treatment and to avoid drinking alcoholic beverages. This is repeated during three to five consecutive days and goes on with his ambulatory treatment in the out patient clinic. Thus, we avoid many hospitalizations and make possible the initiation of a greater number of clients in the therapeautic process.

The Puerto Rican alcoholic clients has the capacity to establish an unique interpersonal relationship with his therapist. He will think that among all patients, he is the only one with a special value for the professional who treats him. It is possible, and even desirable, that a therapist establish said personal relationship with a client. This will enhance the therapeutic compromise bases in the relationship offered, as a way to recover his dignity and keep away from dependence on alcohol. THANKS.

TREATING PUERTO RICAN CLIENTS
A COUNSELOR'S GUIDE TO DOS AND DON'TS

The Counselor's Guide is addressed at drug abuse workers whose client population includes Puerto Rican drug abusers. The guide was developed to provide the user with culturally sensitive responses and techniques which reflect the subtleties of Puerto Rican culture. The guide is conveniently divided into sub-sections dealing with specific cultural characteristics such as machismo or the compadrazgo (Godfather) system.

Each section is further subdivided into the following sub-sections:

(1) Traditional Roles

(2) Impact on Client Behavior

(3) Appropriate Worker Responses

(4) Common Worker Mistakes

(5) Intervention Directions

Under "Traditional Roles," the user is given an explanation of the cutlural trait being analyzed.

The second sub-section, "Impact on Client Behavior," contains information on how this cultural trait could affect client behavior in different situations. In "Appropriate Worker Responses," the user explores different counseling techniques which have been known to work.

Further, the counselor is advised on certain techniques to avoid when counseling Puerto Ricans in the sub-section "Common Worker Mistakes." The section on "Invervention Directions," suggests methods to extract constructive responses from the client.

It is hoped that this guide will be helpful to drug abuse counselors and others in dealing with Puerto Rican clients.

DIGNIDAD AND RESPETO (Personalismo)

These are the basic values of the Puerto Rican culture, and reinforces the belief in the innate worth and uniqueness of each individual in that society; his/her self-worth.

It allows for all Puerto Ricans to feel dignidad (dignity) and as such, any person is thought to be worthy of respeto (respect), regardless of his station in life. It allows for Puerto Ricans to demand obedience from one's inferiors (wife, children, etc.) but also permits the "master" to obey his superiors.

Impact on Client Behavior

- A tendency to defend or address real or imagined insults to his dignidad or respeto
- An avoidance of new behaviors which may depreciate dignidad (learning English, reading or writing English)
- A sensitivity and avoidance of confrontation when his/her or someone's feelings may be injured
- Resistance to someone else's opinions or suggestions through passive non-cooperation rather than total rejection (falta de respeto). (Falta de respeto also indicates a lack of respect for the person who is giving the suggestion.) A direct negative reply to some request is also avoided if possible. Rather than yes and no, a client will perhaps say "maybe."
- A possible tendency that clients will trust their decision making to the therapist who is an authority figure
- A preference for face-to-face meetings rather than telephone arrangements
- A tendency to hide or gloss over personal problems that impinge on his dignity.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Build a strong bond of confianza before delving into highly personal matter which may damage a person's dignidad or respeto.
- Avoid direct confrontations of client with his problems. Allow the client to express problems when she/he feels safe in her/his interaction with the therapist.
- Explore the client's fantasies regarding her/his responsibility as well as your role in the helping relationship.
- Initially, avoid close physical proximity to the client and avoid too intimate a reference (first name) to the client until it is asked for by the client.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Direct confrontation of client with her/his problem
- Criticism of the client's lack of understanding of English
- Requiring that the client immediately recount her/his problems and personal history to a receptionist or intake warder, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, or a social worker
- Ridiculing culturally acceptable forms of treatment (spiritualism)
- Probing, questioning and in general demanding clear cut answers to questions when client may not be willing to do so
- Acceptance of initial verbal commitment to treatment without exploration of influence of authority figure.

Intervention Directions

- Establishment of confianza between you and the client
- Slow and careful exploration of the problem to allow the client space to salvage her/his dignidad and respeto
- Careful exploration of what the client will do for her/himself and not because the therapist (an authority figure) has dictated that behavior
- Praising and acknowledging the client's efforts to rehabilitate her/himself no matter how small the step (initial attempts at English, keeping appointments on time, etc.).

CONFIANZA

Confidence and a sense of trust are essential to the treatment relationship. Without that, time is wasted and you may lose the client from treatment.

Evidence of confianza is:

- Direct eye contact
- Close proximity (spatial) of persons
- "Relajo" - kidding, jesting is exhibited
- Exchange of intimate feelings.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Until confianza is established, client may be silent, monosyllabic, cast eyes downward, avoid issues and be generally non responsive to you.
- When confianza is established, begin low key exploration of more intimate areas.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Until confianza is established, do not confront, probe, intimidate the client.
- Allow time/space (physical).
- Respond to feelings and use empathy once confianza is established.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To probe, confront without confianza
- To touch too soon can imply lack of respect
- To expect (or insist) initially that the client look at you while you are speaking (especially if a negative comment is being made)
- To assume that the client is not listening or is being evasive or rude or disrespectful if she/he is not looking at you.

Intervention Directions

- Use confianza to establish the most open and honest interaction possible.

TRADITIONAL ROLES

I. Males (Machismo)

Traditionally it is the male who is the head of the family and the provider who is catered to by his wife. The male is respected by all; the wife is dutiful, the son obedient, and the daughter virtuous. To be "macho" or virile is a dominant value attached to males. It is a trait abetted by permissiveness in behavior (drinking, gambling, going out, etc.).

It is believed that man is superior to women and as such she is to be superior to women and as such she is to be subservient to him. A male is free to make all important decisions and to be obeyed at all times. There is a high value placed on male children over females as males maintain the family name. Males generally tend, however, to house a deep rooted attachment to their mothers and place them near the Virgin Mary in context.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Hesitancy to listen to a women therapist in an authority role
- A continuous vigilance by the male over his manhood, his dignity and respect
- An unwillingness to discuss personal problems that may diminish his sense of manhood (such as a rebellious wife, uncontrolable children, lack of a job, inability to deal with drug addiction, etc.)
- A continuous vigilance over the significant female in the client's life
- A fatalistic acceptance of problems, not because the male is passive or has a defeatist attitude, but rather because it is unmanly to whimper and whine
- A general tendency to see females as superfluous, and to see female therapists as not capable of doing their job.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Establish rapport or confianza with the client so that he feels safe in divulging highly personal and perhaps painful information or problems.
- Give the client a clear explanation of the role of the therapist as a helper and outline the role and responsibilities of the client. This is especially important with female counselors.
- Explore the labels to be used in the relationship (first name, last names, etc.).
- Explore the language to be used in the relationship.
- Avoid confrontations that call for the client to defend his dignity and manliness (ie. why don't you get a job? Speak English and make mistakes - that is okay.)
- If the client is a very traditional Puerto Rican male, be careful about issues around "feminism" in regards to problems with his wife or daughter. (These could be over his wife or daughter going out unchaperoned in the U.S. while he would not permit that behavior on the Island.)
- Be very careful not to make any remarks that could be seen as personal insults. (See confianza in this section.)

Common Worker Mistakes

- Direct confrontation of the client because of lack of knowledge of English, lack of a job, problem with an addiction, etc.
- Taking too many personal liberties (ie. using the client's first name, putting your arm around a client, etc.).
- Assigning a Latino male client to a non-Latino female counselor
- Assuming the client can speak English, or assuming that the client can speak Spanish when it may not be the case
- Discussing issues related to sexuality, or husband - wife problems, etc. without establishing confianza with the client
- Ridiculing the client's values he holds with regards to his image of being a man.

Intervention Directions

- Whenever possible, have a male Puerto Rican counselor work with a male Puerto Rican client.
- Allow the client to use whichever language he feels most comfortable with.
- Do not explore sensitive issues such as marital problem areas or the client's deep feelings until after confianza has been established or the client volunteers the information.
- Accept the client's attitudes and values with regards to male roles and responsibilities.
- Carefully explore the client's need to model these attitudes and values, while reinforcing the client's dignity and respect.

TRADITIONAL ROLES

II. Females (Marianismo)

Traditionally, being a female in Puerto Rican culture carries the values of responsibility to husband or other significant male (father, brother), being faithful, submissive, obedient and humble. She has been clearly assigned a role within the home (hogar) and has been taught over the generations to submit to significant male figures, and to defer to them in all decisions.

Puerto Rican women, traditionally, have also been raised chastely, and religiously. On the one hand, they are taught to seek worldly wise men (serio) but on the other hand, are generally taught that sex and love are extremely intimate and taboo subjects that are governed by God and men.

Most Puerto Rican females prior to industrialization and the migration were never allowed to work or to go on to higher education. Her fate and the decisions about her life were all in the hands of the males in her family.

Traditionally, she was expected to guard her virginity until marriage, and to keep to herself and to her children in her home once married. Permitting strange men in her home while her husband was not present was a serious lack of respect and was not allowed.

As a housewife she generally had no say over important decisions (ie. going to a consultation, birth control, etc.). Sex was thought as a necessary evil to be tolarated because it was your duty to your husband and was an act to beget children. Discussing sexual matters with your husband was considered taboo.

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Since the industrialization and migration, the Puerto Rican woman has begun to work for herself and earn a measure of education that was unequalled before. She also had the option of divorce. In New York and Puerto Rico the traditional role of the submissive, passive, long suffering female is undergoing tremendous changes. No longer do women totally fit the typical female role. There are a great number of females in the workforce, leading households, going to college, getting elected to public office and generally doing their own thing.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Puerto Rican women may be reticent to discuss sexual or intimate matters with a male counselor.
- There will be a tendency for Puerto Rican females to be influenced by a husband, father, or other significant male to stay away from treatment since this will indicate her condition to neighbors and cause her family shame.
- Females will revert to "other" treatment avenues (spiritualist, friends or relatives) rather than go to a formal treatment agency.
- Males in the client's life may be suspicious of other males in the treatment program with regards to the woman.
- Her attachment to her home and children can cause her to be reticent to come to a time in treatment because of cultural expectations that she take care of her home.
- Because of the traditional passivity and submissiveness of the female in Puerto Rican culture, she may be more susceptable to male authority figures and follow their directions although she resents doing so. She will not express these feelings because she might offend the authority figure (respeto).
- While she may have rebelled against the cultural expectations for Puerto Rican women, she may still expect males to treat her as a Puerto Rican female.
- Her self concept (respeto, dignidad) may have suffered a severe blow because of her substance abuse. She may feel that she has become a woman of the streets and a fallen woman (no longer a virgin, the good daughter, the good wife).
- She may have let go of her husband and be the head of the household, but she will probably expect her children to follow the traditional values of respect for a significant male.
- She may have lacked proper role models and be confused about her place in society, thus she might resist assimilation of new behaviors more vigorously than females of other ethnic groups (eg. feminism).
- There may be a significant male who may influence her use of drugs (her use or her abstinance).
- She may have more educational, language and job handicaps than her male counterparts.

Appropriate Worker Response

- At the start of treatment, ask the client if she would prefer a female counselor.
- Before treatment begins, ask her if there is a father, brother, or husband who should be consulted in the treatment phase.
- Have a female staff member, preferebly a Puerto Rican, do a medical workup.
- Allow a longer period of time to establish rapport (confianza) especially if you are a non-Puerto Rican and a male.

- Establish her needs with regards to her home (ie. her responsibility towards her children, her schedule, etc.).
- If you are a non-Puerto Rican female counselor, be careful that you in no way put-down the traditional female roles and responsibilities that your client may hold.

Common Worker Mistake

- Assume that all Puerto Rican female clients are passive and submissive
- Assume that all Puerto Rican female substance abusers are or have been prostitutes
- Beginning treatment without consulting the significant male(s) in the home who may be in the position to hinder treatment
- Suggesting that a Puerto Rican woman put her children up for adoption
- Discuss intimate details of her sex life or her marital problems prior to establishing confianza (this is especially crucial if you are a male counselor)
- Assuming that the substance of abuse for the client is heroin
- Assuming that the substance abusing Puerto Rican woman is dependent on a significant male(s)

Intervention Directions

- Allow for more all-Puerto Rican female groups and to allow for more Puerto Rican female staff members to be seen as role models.
- Provide support and empathy towards the trational role of the female while encouraging more independence in personal decisions.
- Interviewing the family, especially the significant males who may enhance or hinder treatment
- Referral to an outside source for the substance abusing female to keep her children if her marital relationship is not intact. In this way, she will have a home (hogar) to return to.
- Provide more vocational and scholastic opportunities and training to assure economic independence upon re-entry to society.
- Providing Puerto Rican cultural studies to boost the woman's self concept.

EXTENDED FAMILY AND THE COMPADRAZGO GODFATHER SYSTEM

Generally, Puerto Ricans look towards the family (hogar) as the heartbeat of the culture. Everything that makes her/him an individual, with a sense of belonging, confidence, identity, pride, etc., are all encompassed in the family structure and impact on her/his interpersonal relationships in that unit.

There is an emphasis on the use of the family to solve problems internally. There is also a great deal of power given to males over females in a traditional Puerto Rican family and no decisions are made without the husband's permission. Spanish is almost always the language spoken in Puerto Rican families, while English is used more by the younger generation.

Impact on Client Behavior

- In seeking help, there is a tendency for Puerto Ricans to first approach family members, friends, neighbors, shopkeepers, campadre, or acquaintances who are at home; someone who is an authority or has expertise in the area of difficulty.
- The second group Puerto Ricans may approach for help include teachers, clergymen, or educated people who are neither in the client's own extended family or in the network of informal relationships.
- A person far down on the list of helpers would be the local spiritualist.
- A tendency to give over the problem person to an agency to take care of, but not give any support to that person from the family.
- A tendency to use the outside authority to serve as an arbitrator of family problems.

Appropriate Worker Response

- When dealing with a Puerto Rican client, especially women, explore the family support for the client's treatment.
- Explore the family's place of residence (the Island, the U.S. or both).
- Explore the family's expectations regarding the treatment process.
- Explore whether the client has been raised in an extended family, a nuclear family or broken family.
- Explore whether the client has ever been institutionalized.
- Explore whether there is a central male figure in the family, or whether this role is being assumed by a female.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Dealing with the client in isolation from the family
- Assuming that there is no pressure from the family for the client to continue or drop out of the program
- Presume that there is no central female or male figure in the home
- Failing to assess the place of residence of the family (Island or mainland)
- Moving right into family counseling without establishing confianza.
- Failing to assess the different roles of the individual members of the family with reference to traditional roles and values
- Failing to exercise authority or a paternal role depending on the status of the family.

Intervention Directions

- Establishing informal at home meetings with the family to develop rapport and confianza
- Assessing the roles of the individual members of the family, particularly with reference to the use or non-use of traditional roles

- Including the male authority figure of the family in all important decisions
- Reinforcing female headed households' accommodation of new roles and values
- Assessing the support or the non-support of treatment by the family, and the willingness to participate in family counseling
- Determining the dominant language used in communications within the family (Spanish, English, or both)
- Assessing the need for outside resources for the family (medicaid, foodstamps, welfare, dental, etc.).

RACE

Most Puerto Ricans view themselves ethnically, e.g. not as black, white, yellow, etc., but as Puerto Rican. Among Puerto Ricans, the racial distinctions may occur in terms of shades (degree of skin color), socio-economic status, and on the Island, geographic distinctions between cane growers and coffee growers, etc.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Client may adapt certain behaviors, such as speaking Spanish, to insure that he/she will not be identified as Black.
- On the other hand, the Puerto Rican client may identify with the Black community as a way to more easily assimilate into mainstream American society (to alleviate the identity crisis).

Appropriate Worker Response

- Understand and support the identification of the Puerto Rican client with other Puerto Ricans.
- Be aware of the racial identity crisis and the stress that American racism puts on the Puerto Rican who is dark skinned.
- Be aware that the Puerto Rican perspective is that the lighter skinned quality is more desirable.
- Be discrete when addressing the racial issues.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To assume that a dark skinned Puerto Rican will identify as a black person - and conversely, that a blond, blue eyed Puerto Rican will identify as a white person.

Intervention Directions

- Be sure to address the issues of race as they affect the client in everyday life; e.g. interpersonal relationships, discrimination, forming identity groups, etc.

LANGUAGE

Spanish for the Puerto Rican community is one of the more salient bending element of its society, through the language are transmitted the subtile of cultural values and traditions that make-up the Puerto Rican people.

Impact on Client Behavior

- If the client speaks Spanish primarily, there may be a reluctance to speak any English - even if broken English is spoken.

- If the client is bilingual, the client may choose to speak in English or Spanish.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Spanish speaking only:
  - Speak Spanish or get a translator.
  - If translator is used, interact primarily with the translator but do not ignore the client, especially if the client understands English.
- Bilingual:
  - Ask the client which language she/he prefers and then proceed based upon that preference.

Common Worker Mistake

- To assume that because English is understood, English is spoken
- To assume that the Puerto Rican client does not want to speak English due to laziness or inability to learn
- To force the person to respond in English; this may destroy the person's dignity because he/she feels that he/she will be seen as "stupid"
- To assume that the Puerto Rican client is fluent in English and/or Spanish
- To stereotype the Spanish sur-named person as only speaking Spanish

Intervention Directions

- Let the client know that you respect and admire his/her effort to speak (and learn) English - that you will not make fun of the clients efforts.
- Allow and encourage the person to use Spanish, but caution him/her to be aware of the impact of using only Spanish in an English - speaking environment.
- Help the client to use English more frequently if that is appropriate (refer to English as a second language (ESL) classes, etc.).

RELIGION

The Puerto Rican person is usually deeply religious, with a belief in the after life. There is also a degree of fatalism; e.g. "If this is the way things are, then it was meant to be by God." (acceptance of things as they are.)

- Religious beliefs fall into three major categories:
  - Spiritualism
    The belief that the physical world is subject to spiritual influence.
  - Catholicism
  - Protestant
    An increase of number of Puerto Ricans are embracing this religion. It involves ultra-traditional dress (no adornment, no cosmetics), deference to authority, rigid and restrictive environment.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Among more traditional persons (first generation), a tendency toward passivity and toward disowning responsibility for problems - accept hardship and "give up" on working to change (on the part of the client as well as of the family or other support systems).
- On the other hand, a second generation or more assimilated Puerto Rican would be more apt to attempt change (dealing with crisis or problems) and overcome the fatalistic attitude. ("ay benditor.") And perhaps to be relied upon by others as a person who can cope with diversity.
- Some clients use spiritual resources; e.g. persons in the community identified as spiritual leaders or engage in rituals that are designed to call upon the spiritual forces before using institutions, drug programs, etc.
- Strong religious identification - therefore, there may be strong guilt feelings around such things as premarital sex, abortion, etc. The client may tend to act based upon what he/she believes he/she "ought" to do; e.g. get married if permarital sex occurs.
- Potential for conflict between religious doctrine and peer group behavior.
- Problems may be taken care of in the family vs. in community agencies.
- A client in treatment may be experiencing a much greater sense of distance (and potential guilt) from family - especially the female because traditional roles are so strong.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Explore the religious conviction and affiliation of the person and how he/she actually practices his/her religious beliefs.
- Maintain a non-judgemental acceptance of client beliefs (e.g. do not accuse person of being "superstitious" or imply "weird" beliefs) if he/she subscribes to spiritualism or Santerismo.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To ridicule the client's beliefs
- To label the client with psychopathic terms e.g. schizophrenic, based upon descriptions of religious experience (e.g. "My guardian spirit spoke to me last night and told me to come to treatment.")
- To overlook dietary considerations and religious holidays such as Three Kings Day
- To suggest problem solving directions or "right" ways of thinking that are insensitive to the client's religious persuasion, e.g. abortion, birth control, premarital sex
- To assume that the client adheres to a commonly accepted practice; e.g. going to church every Sunday, etc.
- To assume that all Puerto Ricans are catholic.

Intervention Directions

- Where appropriate, incorporate and use the potential support of the person's religious community. For example, a client may choose to seek a spiritual counselor for what she/he considers spiritual problems, and to seek a mental health/social service resource for what she/he consider a "physical" problem.

- Be sure to address and explore the potential problems of the client stemming from the conflict between his/her actual behavior and his/her religious beliefs about what he/she "should" do.

- Where needed, get help distinguishing between instances where further psychiatric assessment is needed and where it is not.

- Help client understand that he/she can gain control over many aspects of his/her life.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS

The Puerto Rican client will exhaust familiar and secure avenues where he/she has established confianza before using social service agencies, treatment programs, etc. Informal avenues of treatment are:

- Extended family

- Godfather (compadrazgo)

- Priest, spiritualist.

The government services have become a part of the more familiar and used agencies (e.g. welfare), but there is a reluctance to use mental health systems because they are:

- Unfamiliar

- Have a language barrier

- Fantasized as viewing clients negatively (looking down on their poor English, their dress, the economic situation, etc.).

Since service deliverers in institutions are seen as authority figures by virtue of their role, the Puerto Rican will have expectations consistent with that authority.

NOTE: Beware that for a middle class Puerto Rican, reluctance to come to treatment may be related to not wanting to be negatively stereotyped.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Suspicious of the program - it is an unknown.

- Sees self as having less worth for having to come to the program; this may be exhibited by:

    - being very shy, submissive, doing and saying what is believed to be expected rather than what is really needed or felt, or

    - acting out to cover up insecurity - showing control but not feeling it (especially males), or

    - saying "I feel nervous," which is sometimes a reflection of underlying feelings of ambivalence toward being in the program. May be demonstrated further in forgetting appointments, delaying, procrastinating, looking for excuses, etc.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Build trust by:

    - using Spanish

    - speaking with a Puerto Rican worker if possible

  - taking lots of time to explore treatment expectations and the client's expectations of you (begin at a very low key level, be indirect, touch on general areas and allow client to gradually build confianza).

- Conduct an initial interview in the client's home (if possible). A home visit is best if the worker is bilingual and Puerto Rican. (See also family issues under Traditional Roles.)

- Establish a home like atmosphere in the program, especially in the waiting room and intake areas. Offer refreshments; be hospitable, etc.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Immediate confrontation and expectation that the client will start out stating problems and feelings

- To assume that the Puerto Rican client is owning true feelings when it is simply out of respect for you as an authority figure

- To forget how much authority is invested in you and how literally you may be taken (especially where this may conflict with cultural norms).

Intervention Directions

- Initially, use the authority invested in you by virtue of your role as a tool to shape and guide the treatment/intervention process - but move toward a more equal relationship where the client can be honest, confront issues, clearly state his/her needs, etc.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS DRUGS

Traditionally (for the Puerto Rican parent) and for the lay person, "drugs" means heroin, marijuana, and illicit drugs.

To the young person, "drugs" means heroin; marijuana is not considered a drug.

Drug use and abuse is frowned upon - seen as destructive to the family unit. This is especially severe in the case of a female using drugs.

Alcohol is not viewed as a problem - it is more acceptable for a man to be seen drunk than a woman. The woman is viewed as a "woman of the streets" if seen drunk publicly.

Prescription drug use is not questioned since a doctor (an authority figure) has condoned the use.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Puerto Rican female clients may tend to show more remorse and guilt around their drug abuse than males. They will be more likely to shy away from treatment.

- A young person may resent being labeled a "dope addict" for marijuana use or use of drugs other than heroin.

- Treatment for alcohol abuse is rarely sought unless there is physical illness associated with it, such as cirrhosis.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Make sure to specify drug use you wish to determine (beyond heroin) when you start your relations with the client.

Common Worker Mistake

- To label the Puerto Rican as an "alcoholic" when alcohol use is not considered a problem by the client
- To label the Puerto Rican as a substance abuser before the client has come to an awareness of his/her drug use as a problem (thereby turning off the client)
- Stereotyping all Puerto Rican clients who come to treatment as heroin addicts.

Intervention Directions

- Especially with the young drug abuser, assist the family to understand the nature of substance abuse.
- Especially with the female abuser, help her to get a realistic perspective on the relationship of her drug use to her self worth.
- Educate the client about alcohol use and abuse and the potential dangers.

MODULE X - ENDNOTES

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2. Case illustration provided by Dr. Roberto Reddinger, presented at Seminar on Mental Health for New York University and Columbia University Social Work Students of Puerto Rican Project, New York, NY, March 28, 1977.

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5. Braulio Montlavo, Home-School Conflict and the Puerto Rican Child, SOCIAL CASEWORK, 55:100-110 (February 1974).

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7. According to the New York City Narcotics Register, 1975.

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12. Gearing, F. A Road Back From Heroin Addiction, Proceedings, Fourth National Conference on Methadone Treatment, NAPAN: New York (1972) 157-158.

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14. Suchman, E.A., Alksne, L.S. Communication Across Cultural Barriers, The American Catholic Sociological Review (1961) XXII (4): 306-313.

15. Aron, W.S., Alger, N., Gonzalez, R.T. Chicanoizing the Therapeutic Community, Journal of Psychedelic Drugs (1974) 6 (3): 321-327.

16. Snarr, R.W., Ball, J.C. Involvement in a Drug Subculture and Abstinence Following Treatment Among Puerto Rican Narcotic Addicts, British Journal of Addiction (1974) 69: 243-248.

17. Reprinted from the International Journal of the Addictions, Vol. 1 (No. 1), 1966, pp. 30-41. Published by Marcel Dekker, Inc.

18. Much of the study reported on here was undertaken for the Street Club Project of the Jewish Board of Guardians, in cooperation with the New York City Youth Board, with funds supplied by the New York City Community Mental Health Board.

19. This investigation was supported (in part) by Public Health Service Grant, No. 1-R11-MH 728-A-1, from the National Institute of Mental Health.

20. This paper is concerned solely with the lower class, "street" addiction. Opiate, barbiturate and alcohol addiction exists among all socioeconomic, religious, ethnic and vocational groups, and no conclusions are intended regarding the relationship of narcotic dependence and so-called "criminal types."

21. This information represents an uneasy consensus obtained from Puerto Ricans in New York over a period of five years.

22. It is a popular misconception that there is a gang-like social structure among street drug addicts. The keen competition among addicts for the possession of the drug precludes any kind of altruism and affectivity necessary for social cohesion. At best, they constitute a group of associated parallel couples. A street addict finds it useful to have one partner in order to share the cost of a drug purchase, to assist in a criminal endeavor, or to give first-aid in case of an overdose. One associate is optimum; with more than one there is a greater risk of being cheated during the complicated and clandestine procedures to acquire money and purchase the drug.

23. Italian imigrants in New York (especially in the construction field) were called "zips," for the same reason.

24. Reprinted from Medical World News, Vol. 9 (No. 34), 1968, pp. 55-57. Published by McGraw Hill.

25. Reprinted from the Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, Vol. 7, (No. 3), July-Sept.1975, pp. 273-280. Published by STASH. Presented at the North American Congress on Alcohol and Drug Problems, San Francisco, California. December 14, 1974.

26. Mental Health Coordinator, SERA; Chief clinical consultant to Training for Living; Independent psychoanalytic practice, 890 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

MODULE XI

CLIENT HISTORY CASE STUDIES

NOTE TO TRAINER

Sample Case Histories: Note to the Trainer

The case histories included in this module are based on the real-life experiences of men and women in the realms of drug abuse. In presenting these histories, it is of utmost importance that it be made very clear that these "histories" are not representative vignettes of the "universal" drug abuser, nor the "typical" Puerto Rican addict. The trainees will probably have the tendency to single out problems or situations presented in the "histories" and, generalizing situations they have observed with a number of their clients, assume that these problems or situations are "typical" of all Puerto Rican drug abusers.

To avoid this, make very sure that you explore the issues that all human beings are unique individuals and that we cannot generalize nor typify the behavior of any community on the basis of isolated observations of the daily lives of those people in those communities (either drug abusers in general or the Puerto Rican addict). There are no "typical" John Does, Mary Smiths, Jose Jimenez, Pedro Rodriguez, etc. The case histories are to serve as resource materials around the implementation of content areas of Puerto Rican history and culture as they apply in the development of a functional treatment plan for Puerto Rican addicts. They will attempt to present as diversified a portrait of some Puerto Rican addicts as possible; but they cannot be considered typical of "the Puerto Rican addict."

TREATMENT PLANNING

Treatment Planning[1]

A sound treatment plan is based on information obtained from the client's case history and assessment interview. The plan should be reviewed and modified based on the client's participation in the program and changes in his/her behavior. The effectiveness of this plan depends, to a large extent, upon the regular entry of new treatment information that takes into account the client's changing needs. The most important purposes served by treatment planning is that it provides objectives for the client and for those evaluating the client's progress.

Treatment plans must be individualized; a plan that is beneficial to one client may have little or no value for another. Plans should have well-reasoned goals that will increase the probability of the client's success in the program. Treatment plans must be up-dated often to incorporate changes that have occurred.

Treatment planning Puerto Ricans should take into account their unique needs relating language, culture, education, employment, family ties, machismo, race, etc. In addition, the client's intellectual and emotional needs must be ascertained. This information is necessary for determining which therapeutic situations will be most beneficial.

The client's resources should not be forgotten or overlooked in the treatment, planning process. Some examples of these resources are in his/her positive relationship with family or non-addict friends, marketable job skills, and education in both Spanish and English.

The treatment planning process allows for a constant flow of information that enables staff to modify treatment as the client's expectations and behaviors change. If treatment planning is done in consultation with others, the counselor profits form hearing many points of view. Some people may present ideas you may not have considered or point out examples of stereotyping in your approach. Conversely, when everyone's views are similar this supports and validates your assessment and recommendations about a course of treatment.

Treatment plans also provide a basis for program evaluation; that is, program evaluators can review treatment plans to obtain some idea of the nature, frequency, and quality of treatment activity.

The Federal Funding Criteria for Treatment Services requires that programs develop and maintain individualized treatment plans. These plans should designate a specific counselor, contain a statement of long and short term goals, describe the nature and extent of the counseling involved, and describe the supportive services that will be provided. Treatment planning should be viewed as a dynamic, continuing process, not as a cut-and-dried, one-shot prescription for medication or therapy. The client is in a state of constant personal evaluation; a thoughtful treatment plan will be flexible enough to accommodate his/her changes.

TREATMENT PLAN FORMAT

Treatment Plan Format

The treatment plan format offered here calls for minimum information. (Programs may require more complicated treatment plans.) The statement of long-term and short-term goals is of primary importance. Long-term goals identify behavior or events that will take place at an undefined time in the future; they need not include all of the specific steps the client must take to reach the goals. Long-term goals should indicate the client's responsibility in reaching each goal, but they need not be fully realized while the client is participating in the treatment program: If the client wants to remain free of illicit drugs for the rest of his/her life, he/she need not stay in the program that long. Finally, long-term goals may be flexible and negotiable. Their primary purpose is to give direction to the treatment process and to assist the client in making a commitment to change his/her lifestyle.

Short-term goals specify the steps necessary to achieve a long-term goal. They should be realistic and within the client's reach. Unlike long-term goals, short-term goals are very specific and have a definite time limit. Generally, outpatient clients should attain their goals within 90 days, residential or day-care clients within 30 days. Short-term goals should be specified in objective, observable, behavioral terms. They should include a clear statement of what the client will do in order to reach each goal. Given a client's long-term goal of getting a G.E.D., his/her short-term goals may be: to prepare for the G.E.D. test by attending classes X number of times a week within a specific period and to demonstrate satisfactory progress in class. Both you and the client should ensure that s/he will be successful by keeping short-term goals modest and attainable. Progress in treatment can then be gauged by attainment of or failure to reach the goals. Progress should be described in specific terms such as "the client has attended class every day since starting and seems enthusiastic and satisfied with herself" rather than vague statements, "the client is getting better" or "the client is getting worse."

Each short-term goal should be broken down into a series of tasks. Tasks are the activities, action steps, or behaviors the client must perform in order to reach the goal. These are objective and observable, and become the basis upon which progress notes are written. There may be many tasks the client must accomplish to meet one short-term goal. For example, to achieve the short-term goal of demonstrating satisfactory progress in class, one of the many tasks a client might have to perform would be to study at least one hour a day.

The last section of the treatment plan outline offers an opportuntiy to explain the rationale for the treatment plan, based on what you learned about the client form the assessment interviews and preparing the case history.

Factors to Take into Account in Treatment Planning for Puerto Rican Addicts 2

Treatment Planning

1. Should take into account the Puerto Rican addict's:
   a. language (is s/he bilingual or monolingual? literate in Spanish?)
   b. culture (Island born vs. Nuyorican)
   c. education and training (high school diploma? in Spanish or English? and formal training?)
   d. employment (lack of skills, previous employment history)
   e. family ties (nuclear family vs. extended family)
   f. sex (machismo, male counselor-female client, male client-female counselor)
   g. race (Puerto Rican ethnicity vs. black-white racist system)
   h. intellectual and emotional needs
   i. housing, health, legal and financial
2. Should take into account the client's resources:
   a. positive relationships with family or non-addict friends (extended family a positive or negative factor)
   b. marketable job skills (including special skills, e.g., hustling)
   c. high school or college diploma
3. In outpatient programs treatment plans should be reviewed at least every 90 days and modified to reflect the client's progress.
4. In residential programs plans should be reviewed at least once every 30 days.

Treatment Plan Format

1. Statement of goals:
   a. long-term
   b. short-term
2. Tasks
3. Rationale for plan.

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Date of next review: ____

Counselor: __________

TREATMENT PLANNING GUIDE OUTLINE[3]

Client's Name: ______________________________ Date: __________

Client Number: ______________________________ Counselor: __________

Assigned Counselor: __________

I. Treatment:

Current treatment modality: ______________________________

Medication: ____________________ Dosage: ____________________

Type and frequency of counseling: ______________________________

Other supportive services & activities (frequency of each):

____

____

____

Definitions

Goals: The aims, purposes or end products to be accomplished as a result of treatment, based upon the client's needs and the program services.

Tasks: The activities, actions, behaviors or steps the *client* must do or take in order to reach the goal. These are objective and observable, and become the basis upon which progress notes are written.

II. Long-Term Goals:

____

____

____

____

III. Short-Term Goals (90 days or less):

Goals	Tasks

Comments (Rationale for plan):

Note: **NIDA Federal Funding Criteria require that outpatient programs review treatment plans at least once every 90 days. All other modalities (essentially residential programs and day care) must review at least once every 30 days.**

MODULE XI - ENDNOTES

1. Adapted from Women in Treatment: Issues and Approaches, National Drug Abuse Center. pp. V-7, V-8.

2. Adapted from Assessment Interviewing for Treatment Planning, Trainee's Workbook. National Drug Abuse Center. p. 152.

3. Reprinted from Assessment Interviewing for Treatment Planning, Trainee's Manual. National Drug Abuse Center. pp. 157-158

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APPENDIX A

REFERRALS, REFERENCES AND ADDITIONAL READINGS

PUERTO RICAN TREATMENT AGENCIES

Only recently have Puerto Rican conceived and operated programs evolved in the communities with substantial numbers of Puerto Rican drug abusers. These programs, although slow in developing, eventually came about because of a realization that standard programs, regardless of their technical "modality," failed to meet the specific needs of Puerto Rican clients. Specially tailored programs now exist in many parts of the country. Except in areas with heavy concentrations of Puerto Ricans (such as New York City), these programs are not exclusively Puerto Rican, either in staff, orientation or clientele, but there is a dominant Puerto Rican presence.

These programs understand the cultural differences of Puerto Rican clients and incorporate them into their treatment milieu. Program personnel, understanding these cultural nuances can appeal to them or point out problems inherent within them. These programs offer a broad range of support--counseling, family counseling, job placement, etc.--all within the client's chosen environment.

Puerto Rican-oriented programs provide a wide range of treatment modalities, though there has recently been a tendency to curtail methadone maintainance or other chemotherapy. What particular type of programs are available in a given locale, or even whether a Puerto Rican oriented program is available at all, will differ from city to city.

The following is a list of Puerto Rican-oriented programs throughout the nation:

NORTH END DRUG ABUSE
2345 Main Street
Springfield, Mass. 01107

PHOENIX HOUSE
253 West 73rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

PRIMERA PARADA
19-A Ripley Street
Worcester, Mass. 01610

PROJECT CONTACT-PRIDE SITE
371 East 10th Street
New York, N.Y. 10009

PROCEED
301 Elizabeth Avenue
Elizabeth, N.J. 07206

PROJECT ERAH
33 Charter Oak Place
Hartford, Conn. 06106

PROJECT RETURN
443 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

P.R.O.M.E.S.A.
1776 Clay Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10457

PUERTO RICAN HISPANIC YOUTH
216 West 102nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

RENAISSANCE PROJECT, INC.
481 Main Street
New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

RESURRECTION REHAB. CENTER
1216 Hoe Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10459

SAMARITAN HALFWAY HOUSE
118-21 Queens Blvd.
Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL
DETOX PROGRAM
Amsterdam & 114th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

LINCOLN HOSP. DETOX PRO.
349 East 140th St.
Bronx, N.Y. 10454

TASC PROGRAM-COOK CO. D.
1439 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60605

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
810 East 152nd Street
Bronx, New York 10455

TASC PROGRAM (COP) DADE CO.
1321 N.W. 13th Street
Miami, Fla. 33125

EXODUS HOUSE
309 E. 103rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10029

ANDROMEDA
1823 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

BASTA
728 West 17th Place
Chicago, Ill. 60613

CENTRO de CAMBIO
3007 24th St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94110

CENTRO PAIAN
520 West Lehigh Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19133

CONCILIO HUMAN SERV.
656 Massachusetts Ave.
Boston, Mass. 02118

CROSSROADS, INC.
48 Howe Street
New Haven, Conn. 06501

C.U.R.A., Inc.
75 Lincoln Park
Newark, N.J. 07102

IBERO-AMERICAN ACTION
21-27 Philander St.
Rochester, N.Y. 14605

ESPADA, INC.
219 E. 115th Street
New York, N.Y. 10029

MORA NARCOTIC REHAB. FOUND.
1230 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

ENTER, INC.
254 E. 112th St.
New York, N.Y. 10029

EVANSTON COMPREHENSIVE DR.
2040 Brown Avenue
Evanston, Ill. 60201

GAUDENZIA, INC.
39 E. School House Lane
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

HISPANIC AMER. COUNCIL INC.
313 N.W. 35th St.
Miami, Fla. 33127

HISPANIC COALITION OF FLA.
553 N.W. 35th St.
Miami, Fla. 33127

HISPANIC COUNSELING CTR.
95 Main Street
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APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS FROM DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS

Vocabularly and Common Expressions that can be Traced to the Indian Heritage

aji	tropical chile or red pepper ponerse como un aji - to blush ser mas bravo que el aji - to be brave
anamu	wild grass
atambor	drum
atol	corn flour mush
ausubo	a tree of excellent hard wood duro como el ausubo - as hard as the ausubo
batey	backyard, patio
batea	tray, tub
bohio	Indian hut
balaju	a variety of fish mas flaco que un balaju - as thin as a thread
barbacoa	barbecue
batata	yam
batatita	a cinch con su batatita - with his sure deed
batatero	someone who takes advantages of a situation
bejuco	a large climbing plant embejucarse - to allow someone to creep up on you; to creep up on someone; to bind
bija	(achiote), a special kind of tree; the seed is used as dye or as a condiment embijarse - to paint oneself
Boricua	a Puerto Rican
Borinquen, Boriken	The name given to the Island of Puerto Rico by the Taino Indians
borinquena (borinqueno)	a Puerto Rican
bucare	a shade tree that has vivid flowers, native to the Island of Puerto Rico
cacao	chocolate
cacique	chief of the Indian Tribe cacique de barrio - boss, chief

caculo	a species of insect
caculear	to flirt; to be a party hopper
caney	an Indian cabin; a house
canoa	canoe
Caribe	Indian from the Caribbean region
casabe	cassava
ceiba	a variety of large tree
cemi	Indian idol
coa	a primitive hoe
cobo	mollusk
caoba	mahogany tree and its wood
corozo	native tropical palm covered with thorns estar como un corozo - in sound health
chicha	fermented beverage made from corn or fruits ni chicha ni limona - neither good nor bad
cita	receptacle made out of the Indian fig tree
enagua	underskirt or petticoat
encabullar	to tie with hemp cord
desguabinado	one who lacks elegance, untidy, messy
guaba	tree used for shading the coffee shrub
guacamayo	macaw
guanabana	custard apple
guaracha	Caribbean dance
guares	twins
guayaba	guava (tree and fruit) que guayaba! - what a lie!
guayacan	medicinal tree
guayo	grater coger un guayo - to get drunk guayarle el duco - to scratch someone, to demerit
guiro	bottle gourd used as a musical instrument cabeza de guiro - empty-headed
hamaca	hammock

hayaca	a food made with grated corn and meat and cooked wrapped in corn leaves
jagua	crab jaberia - a shrewd act
jibaro	peasant, hillbilly ajibararse - to acquire peasant customs para un jibaro otro jibaro y para dos el diablo - for one hillbilly another hillbilly, and for both of them, the devil jibaro envuelto - stuffed plantain dish
jicotea	turtle
jobo	a variety of fruit comer jobos - to play hooky come jobos - one who plays hooky
juey	land crab come jueyes - a native hacerse el juey - to play dumb
mabi	a beverage made from the bark of a tree subir como la espuma del mabi - to be successful
macana	club cudgel macanudo - in excellent shape, groovy
maiz	maize, corn es como echarle maiz a la agua, a cinch
maicena	mush made out of refined corn flour
mamey	a kind of tree and its fruit
mangle	mangrove tree, a kind of shrub that grows in swamps
maraca	maraca, a musical instrument
marota	mush
mime	a variety of insect caerle mimes - to be annoyed, bothered
mona	funny imitator
nigua	flea
papaya	papaw, pawpaw, papaya
piragua	crushed ice with fruit flavor; Italian ice
pitirre	a bird cada pitirre tiene su zumbador - everyone is bound to meet his match cada guaraguao tiene su pitirre - everyone no matter how big, has his enemy
guenepa	honeyberry
sabana	grassy plain, meadow
soruca	fight, brawl

tabaco	tobacco
tabonuco	medicinal plant
taino	Taino Indian
tayote	chayote, a variety of fruit esta jincho como tayote - to be very pale atayotao - sick looking
tiburon	shark
yagua	royal palm El que esculca (busca) yaguas, viegas, siempre encuentra cucarachas - He who doesn't let sleeping does lie will surely be bitten
yautia	a variety of tuber plant
yegua	mare
yuca	yucca
huracan	hurricane

Vocabularly That Can Be Traced to The African Heritage

ambombao	putrid smell in water or any liquid
Angola	a slave from Angola
bemba	thick lips bembudo, bembon, bembeteo - gossip
cachimbo	smoking pipe
calalu	food of the old slaves made of different vegetables with salt, vinegar and lard
callajabo	a variety of medicinal plants
candungo	container made with the marimbo fruit
Carabali	Black from the Calibar coast
cocorioco	an ugly person (said in a witty or humorous tone)
cocoroco	an important person, a big shot
cogioca	graft, profits obtained through dubious means estar en la cogioca - to be on the take, to take bribes
Congo	Black from the Congo
chalungo	thin and slow horse
chamba	by coincidence, luck
changa	a variety of insect which damages plants by eating their roots

changa	hidden motives or bad intention in another person; conceited or artificial behavior; to be frivolous and flirtatious
chango	black bird; a show-off
cheche	browbeater, rougher
chevere	good, excellent, groovy
chimba	a bunch of firewood covered with burned leaves and soil
chongo	thin and slow horse
dengue	a strong head cold
fufu	witchcraft, enchantment
funche	mush of corn flour with salt and water
gandules	food grain, pigeon peas
gongoli	reddish-black worm
guarapillo	tea, a mixture derived from boiled roots or leaves, a type of medication
guarapo	sugar cane juice
guinea	hen of guinea
guineo	plantain, banana
guingambo	vegetable imported from West Africa
gunda	climbing wild plant
Jurutungo	a faraway place; an old name given to a sector in Hato Rey
mucuenco	a thin, weak, feeble horse
mafaffo, congo, lotuco, malango	varieties of banana
mahingo	big hen or rooster
malagueta	medicinal plant of malagasy origin
malambo	machete in the rural area of Puerto Rico (now obsolete)
malanga	a variety of yuca
mample	illegally-distilled liquor
Mandingas	Blacks from the Mandingas tribes of Western Sudan
mango	a variety of fruit
marimbo	plant that produces a small pumpkin that is used as a container
matungo	wasted, in disuse
mofongo	fried or broiled plantain mashed with salt and bacon

monguera	weakness
motete	bundle; obstruction; nuisance
Mozambique	Black from Mozambique
Nangobaa	Black sect of possible Bantu origin, chaired by a king or queen, in old San Juan in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century
nangotao	in squatting position; a coward or submissive person
nenene	nonsense, foolishness, babyish
noco	with only one arm, maimed
pian	skin illness
guimbambas	a far and remote place

COMMON TERMS

Puerto Rican Common Terms

This section contains words commonly used by Puerto Ricans in the Island and in the United States. Many of these words are not used anywhere else in Spanish-speaking America, others are common to the Spanish language everywhere, but Puerto Rican usage has given them another dimension or significance. Therefore, this glossary only includes words as they are used by Puerto Ricans. For common definitions a regular bilingual dictionary must be consulted.

The spelling of certain words follows pronounciation patterns and not grammatical rules. For example: achantao instead of achantado, etc. This phenomenon is also evident in the vernacular Spanish in the southern parts of Spain and in many other Caribbean Spanish-speaking islands, Central and South America.

acido	disagreeable, unpleasant, said of a person, m. acid, LSD
acomodar	to flatter; to try to make oneself liked by another person
achantao	lazy, slow, unaggressive, without ambition
achantarse	to become stagnant, to lose ambition or drive
achocarse	to get hit in the head
achocazo	sudden blow in the head
achongarse	to become embarrassed; to shy away
administrar	to deceive; to con, swindle; to have illicit sexual relationship with a woman; to enjoy and/or use something not belonging to you
afrentao	fresh, impudent; selfish
agallarse	to get angry, upset; to keep by force something that belongs to someone else
aguaje	gesture, attitude; empty talk or gestures used to impress someone

aquapiringa	refreshing drink; any watered down and tasteless refreshment
ajibararse	to adopt jibaro manners; to be shy in the company of strangers
ajorar	to rush
ajoro	rush
ajumao	drunk; also rajao, guayao, picao
alabao	by God!
alcapurria	fritter made with plantain, yuca or yautia and filled with ground meat
alicate	helper, assistant; a very good friend
apestillarse	to hold hands, embrace; get very close together
aprontao	busybody, meddler
arrebatao	in a fit; stoned, freaked-out (with drugs)
arresmillarse	to laugh showing the teeth
asfixiao	very busy
asopao	thick soup made with rice and chicken or seafood; something easy to do or to obtain
atomico	alcoholic, bum; acidhead, drug addict
atrapillao	trapped, blocked, unable to get out
atrapillar	to catch someone in the act of doing something; to uncover a deceit
baboso	babbler; boring, annoying (usually said of a fast talker)
barrilito	short and fat person
bayoya	frivolous conversation, kidding around, joking
bellaco	sexually excited; in heat
bembetear	to talk excessively, to gossip
bendito!	used to indicate pity, sympathy; also: gracious! confound it!
bicho	penis
bienmesabe	dessert made with coconut milk, egg yolks and sugar
blanquito	white, middle-class person
bobo	baby's pacifier
bocabajo	servile, adulator, bootlicker
bocon	loudmouth
bolita	the numbers (illegal gambling)
bolitero	bookie

bomba	blow given with the fist
boquisucio	foul-mouthed
brillo	shoeshine
brujo	curse, spell
bueno	let's see; so long
buscon	hustler
busconear	to hustle, make a living by doing small jobs
cabro	cunning, sly, crafty; sensual; agile
cachipa	coconut bagasse
cajeton	bully, brawler
camaron	police informer; undercover agent
camaroncillo	scorpion
canario	squealer, police informer
cantazo	heavy blow
canto	hunk, piece, slice
canita	low-quality rum, distilled illegally (also pitorro mample, ron cana)
canon	healthy, strong person
canonero	thief addict who robs another addict; person who betrays a friend
capear	to find or buy drugs
carcomillo	itch, restlessness
caricortao	with a scarred face
cariduro	fresh, unabashed, cheeky
carifresco	fresh, bold, shameless, cheeky
caripelao	fresh, bold, shameless, cheeky
carrerita	jiffy, short time
cascara	useless, soiled, worn-out person or thing
cascarazo	heavy blow
casco	something old or useless; coconut husk; crustacean's shell
casquitos de guayaba	dessert made of guava shells and sugar
cayuco	old, obsolete, old-fashioned; of bad quality, ugly
cazuela	dessert made of pumpkin, sweet potatoes, eggs and coconut milk

changueria	monkeyshine, affection
chapa	metal bottle cap
chavar	to annoy, bother; fail
chaveria	coins, small change
chavon	annoying, bothersome
chavos	money, bread
chifle	animal's horn
chilleria	group of noisy children
chillo	street urchin; a variety of fish
china	orange
chiringa	comet, kite
chiripera	flirtatious woman
chischis	a bit, a small quantity
chispo	small child; bit, small piece of amount
chivo	imperfection in a job or thing done; unimportant job; lover, side job
choreto	in quantity, abundant
chorrera	slide (in children's playground)
chota	police informer, squealer
chuchin	good, great, nice, good looking
chupazo	a drag (smoke from a cigarette)
cocopelao	bald, without hair or with shaven head
cogerse	to become used to a place; to get along (two persons)
colgalejo	hanging, anything that hangs
comelata	informal banquet
compartidura	hair part
coneccion	drug pusher
coqui	a small frog; herb root used for medicinal purposes
coquito	dessert made with ground coconut and sugar
corral	playpen
cortar	to cut, to prepare or mix drugs to sell
cosquilleo	restlessness, itch

cotita	small shirt or housecoat
crudo	unprepared, uninformed
cuchiflito	fried entrails; fritters; (also cuchifrito)
cuerda	agrarian measure equal to 4,000 square meters; bag, specialty, field of expertise of a person
cuero	ugly, vulgar woman; prostitute
curarse	to get a fix of heroin
emborujo	imbroglio, confusion, mess
embrollao	debt-ridden
embrollarse	to get into debt
empanada	pie made of yuca or cassava filled with crab or pork meat
empanadilla	small meat or fruit pie
empantalonarse	to get furious
empaparse	to become well informed on a subject
enchismarse	to become angry
enfogonarse	to become very angry
enfuscarse	to become dazzled, confused, infatuated
entriparse	to get soaking wet
envenenao	enraged, furious
escrachao	broke; badly dressed; worn-out, tired
escracharse	to break down; become damaged; to fail
esmandao	quickly, fast, in a hurry
esmandarse	to run
esmayao	hungry; poor; greedy
estilladura	thin crack (in glass, dishes, etc.)
estillarse	to crack (a fragile object)
estrellazo	heavy blow
farfallota	mumps
fatiga	asthma
follon	fit, rage; excessive fondness or enthusiasm
funda	paper bag
gaban	coat (of a man's suit)

gandul	bean, pidgeon pea
gata	prostitute, whore
gavetero	chest of drawers
gomita	rubber band
granoso	said of rice cooked dry and loose
grifo	said of white man with African blood
guayao	drunk (also *ajumao*, *rajao*, *picao*)
guayar	to scratch
guayazo	scratching; scratch (on furniture, etc.)
guindalego	hanging; anything that hangs
guiso	easy thing, easier done than said
huevo	blunder, faux pas
jaiberia	cunning, slyness (especially that of the Puerto Rican peasant)
jaleo	upset stomach
jamon	ham, scrape, difficult situation
jaqueton	bully, brawler
jara	fuzz, police
jincho	pale, pallid, ghastly
jinquetazo	fisticuff, flow with the fist
joder	to copulate; to bother, annoy
jodienda	bother, inconvenience
lambeojo	bootlicker, toady, cringer
lambio	gluttonous, greedy
lechonada	an abundant meal with pork as the main dish
lechonera	shop selling roast pork and other pork meats
levantar	to pick up, seduce, make an amorous conquest
ligar	to glance at something or somebody with feigned disinterest; to peep
maceta	a stingy, miserly, avaricious person
machetear	to cut, reduce drastically
machina	merry-go-round; shuttle bus, usually free of charge

machucazo	pounding, bruising
majarete	dessert made with cornmeal, sugar, milk and cinnamon; confusion, mess
manguera	heavy rainstorm with gales
mantengo	relief, welfare aid
melao	a very sweet person
mogolla	hodgepodge
monga	flu, cold
mongo	loose, lax, weak, lazy
morusa	abundant, uncombed hair
muchitanga	crowd of youngsters
naranja	a variety of sour orange; common orange is called china
nangotao	in a squatting position; bootlicker, coward
noco	with only one arm; maimed
pala	person of influence
palma	a very tall and thin person
pamplon	fat, slow person
panapen	breadfruit
pana	breadfruit; friend, buddy, pal
pantaloncillo	jockey shorts, men's underwear
pantalla	earring
pasao	old, worn-out clothes; rotten
paseo	something easy to do or obtain
pastel	typical Puerto Rican dish made of mashed plantains, potatoes, rum and pork, wrapped in plantain leaves
pastelillo	small meat or fruit pie
paticaliente	restless, roving, always moving from one place to another
pega	glue, rubber cement
pegao	crust of rice remaining on the bottom of the pot
pegarse	to win a prize, to hit the jackpot
peinilla	comb
pelarse	to go broke
perico	cocaine, parakeet

perra	penny, cent, female dog, bitch
pimpo	full, stuffed (especially after a hearty meal)
pinche	hair pin
pinon	meat pie made with ground meat and fried ripe plantain
piojo	short person, head lice
pique	hot sauce
piquina	dislike, aversion, ill will
pitiyanqui	perjorative name given to the Puerto Rican who imitates and has a servile attitude toward the Americans
pitorro	low-quality rum, distilled illegally (also canita, mample, ron cana).
pon	a ride (in someone else's car)
prender	to switch on (radio, TV, etc.)
quemarse	to have bought low-quality drugs; to overexpose oneself to public view
rajao	drunk (also ajumao, guayao, paleao, picao)
raspacoco	crewcut, razor cut
raspazo	scratch
rata	police informer, squealer
recao	group of herbs used as seasoning and sold together
recorte	haircut
reguerete	disorder, mess, untidiness
reguero	disorder, mess, untidiness
relajar	to joke, to tease, kid around
relajo	disorder, mix-up; depravity; double-meaning jokes
revolu	hullabaloo, turmoil, disorder, mess
riseria	loud laughter of several persons
sangrigordo	same as sangru
sangru	disagreeable, obnoxious
sorullo	corn fritters
socusumuco	whispering conspiring, gossiping
tapon	traffic jam; a short, chubby person
taquilla	ticket
tembleque	dessert made with cream of coconut, sugar and cornstarch

titere	street urchin
topos	dice
toston	plantain fritter; unpleasant, difficult situation
trinco	stiff, rigid
trulla	group of carolers
vaquero	reckless driver
vellon	nickel, dime
vellonera	juke box
verduras	vegetables
viajar	to trip, to be intoxicated by drugs
yerba	marijuana

POPULAR PHRASES

Puerto Rican Popular Phrases

The Spanish language is extremely rich in idiomatic expressions, phrases, proverbs, etc. In this list, however, we have only included those phrases native to Puerto Rico. Many other phrases used by Puerto Ricans are originally from Spain and used throughout Spanish-speaking America.

achocao de la cabeza	with a terrible headache
apostar pesos a morisquetas	in a discussion, to be very sure of your argument
atracarle a uno las papas	to mistrust someone; beat someone up
bajar de cuadro	to lose stature, to lose prestige
caer como guanabana madura	to fall easily in a trap, be fooled; to fall flat on your backside
caerle mimes a uno	to be pestered
cambiar chinas por botellas	to come out losing in a swap
cara de aguarate	to look Puerto Rican
coger brisa	to escape
coger de oso	to make fun of somebody
coger fiado	to buy on credit; to have sexual relations before marriage
cogerla con alguien	to pick on someone
cogida de cuello	scolding, reprimand
comer arroz con perico	to talk too much
comer jobos	to play hooky
comer pavo	to suffer a deception; to be deceived

con el mono parao	with ill humor, angry
correr la maquina	to make a fool out of someone, to tease
dar riversa	to go back; to recant
darle a uno un corte	to give a hint, to give advice
darle a uno un toque	to remind someone (of something); to recommend
darse puesto	to brag, give oneself airs
del tingo al tango	to and fro, hither and thither
de cachete	free, gratis
de cajon	surely (eso es de cajon - that's a sure thing)
disparararse una maroma	to risk something, tell a lie
edad del pavo	adolescence
el que no tiene dinga, tiene mandinga	refrain meaning that most everyone has some African blood in them
estar en algo	to be on the stuff (drugs); to be "in"
estar en las papas	to be prosperous, comfortable
estar en un gas	to be broke, penniless
estar por el libro o por la maceta	to be find, look good
estar fu	to be useless or worthless
ganar de calle	to win easily (in a match or contest)
hacer brusca (cortar clase)	to play hooky
hacer el dano (romperle el plato)	to deflower (a virgin woman) break her plate (deflower)
haciendose y gustandole	used to refer to a person who makes believe to be indifferent to something but really likes it
(dar) mal de ojo	to give the evil eye
meter las patas	to put one's foot in it, to make a mistake
meterse un cantazo	to get a fix of heroin or take a drink
no comer cuentos	to go straight to the point
no dar un tajo	to loaf, to avoid working
no pegar una	to fail, not to hit the mark
pasar el macho (relajar, relajo)	to pass time in a rowdy manner, or making fun of someone
pegar uno a cualquier cosa	to be ready and willing to do any kind of job
por la izquierda	outside the law or morality

salir por el techo	to backfire, to fail
ser como el arroz blanco	to be present everywhere, especially at social events; to be plain, undecorative
ser la changa	to be a stubborn, annoying person; to be impish
ser punto fijo	to be punctual
ser la hostia	to be bothersome, pesty; to be "too much," extravagant
tener a uno en un patin	to rush, to work under pressure, to be head over heels
tener la mancha del platano	to have been born in Puerto Rico or of Black, African ancestry
tener uno raja (o su rajita)	to have some African blood in oneself
tirar el ojo (a alguien) (pegarle el ojo)	to eye, to ogle, to try to make an amorous conquest

TERMS OF MIXED ORIGIN

Terms of Mixed Linguistic Origin

Span-English is the new term which could be used to describe the linguistic phenomenon of the intermingling of English and Spanish.

Span-English is common to any group of people working and living in a bilingual cultural setting. In this case, it is the adaptation of English words to Spanish grammatical and phonetic forms, and/or the use of English words in Spanish sentences. This phenomenon is also exhibited by the Mexican-American's development of "pachuco" dialect.

This does not mean that this is a new language in the making; it is simply a jargon used by a number of people with a linguistic common denominator.

In the Span-English used by all the Spanish-speaking peoples of New York, words such as "nice," "ready," "size," "building," and "porter," are commonly used, but the pronounciation and spelling do not change to fit Spanish linguistic forms. Therefore, these words have not been included in this glossary.

Other words in this list sound perfectly Spanish, but actually are adaptations of English words. For example, descualificar and relevancia do not exist in Spanish. Others, such as soportar and blanco exist in Spanish but have a different meaning than that given in Span-English.

Many of these terms are used in Puerto Rico as well as in the United States.

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
aplicacion	application	solicitud, formulario
aplicar	to apply	solicitar
bai bai	bye, bye	adios, hasta luego
baquear	to back	apoyar
beibito	baby	bebito

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
biutichan	beautician	embellecedora, peluquera
blanco	blank form	formulario
blanqueta	blanket	frazada, colcha
blofero	bluffer, boaster	fanfarron
boila	boiler	caldera de vapor
bonche	bunch	haz, racimo, manojo
bordante	boarder	huesped
bosa	boss(female)	jefa, patrona
bos	boss(male)	jefe, patron
broque	broke	sin dinero, sin blanca
braun	brown	color cafe, color canela
caque	cake	bizcocho
carpeta	carpet, rug, floor covering	alfombra
caucho	couch	sofa, canape
ciodi	C.O.D.	a cobrar a la entrega
clerical	clerical, of the office	de oficina (esp. labores)
colector	collector	cobrador
controversial	controversial	polemico, contencioso
cou	coat	abrigo, sobretodo
craca	cracker	galleta
craquearse	to crack up (esp. to go crazy); to burst out laughing	enloquecer; desternillarse desternillarse de la risa
cualificar	to qualify	estar capicitado, llenar los requisitos
culear	to cool	refrescar, enfriar
cuora	quarter (25 cents)	peseta de 25 centavos
cuarto furnido	furnished room	cuarto amueblado
cubrir	to cover (an event, etc., by a reporter)	reportar

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
chansa	chance	oportunidad
chequear	to check	verificar
chipe	cheap	barato
chou	show	funcion, espectaculo
chopinbag	shopping bag	bolsa
dar complein	to complain	quejarse, dar quejas
descualificar	to disqualify	no llenar los requisitos, descalificar
despose	dispossessed	deshauciado
detrimental	detrimental	perjudicial
domestico	domestic	del pais
dropear	to drop	caer, dejar caer
escrachao	scratched	aranado, rayado, rasgunado
estin	steam	vapor, calefaccion
estinji	steam heat	calefaccion a vapor
estofa	stuff (drugs)	heroina; droga
felony	felony	delito grave
forleidi	forelady	supervisors (esp. de un departamento en una fabrica)
forman	foreman	capataz, supervisor
frisa	blanket	frazada, colcha
frisar	to freeze	helar, congelar
funirun	furnished room	cuarro amueblado
furnido	furnished	amueblado
furnitura	furniture	mobiliario, muebles
ganga	gang	pandilla, cuadrilla
groseria	grocery store	tienda de viveres, colmado
guachiman	watchman	sereno, vigilante
guachiar	to watch	vigilar, observar
gufear	to goof (loaf)	bobear, embromar

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
indentar	to indent	sangrar, empezar un renglon mas adentro que los demas
irrelevante	irrelevant	ajeuno a un asunto, fuera de lugar, que no viene al caso
jai	high	estar intoxicado con drogas o alcohol
jol	hall	vestibulo, pasillo
jolope	hold up	asalto, robo, atraco
juqueao	hooked	adicto (esp. a las drogas)
kikear	to get a kick (fun, pleasure); to kick drugs	hallar placer, disfrutar dejar elvicio rehabilitarse
liquiar	to leak	gotear
londri	laundry	lavanderia
lonchar	to lunch	almorzar, merendar
llamar para atras	to call back	contestar la llamada
machear	to match	combinar
mapear	to mop	limpiar el piso, balletear
mapo	mop	trapeador, balleta, aljofifa
marqueta	market	mercado
misdeminor	misdemeanor	delito o falta menor
moron	moron	tonto, idiota, retrasado mental
norsa	nurse	enfermera
paipa	pipe	tubo, tuberia
papel	paper (written report for school)	composicion, informe, rabajo, monografia
pari	party	fiesta
parquear	to park	estacionar
piquel	pickled cucumber	pepino encurtido
pisuel	piece work	
pompa	pump, hydrant	boca de riego, toma de agua para incendios

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
ponchar	to punch (esp. time card)	marcar
prejuiciado	prejudiced	predispuesto, parcial
quicheneta	kitchenette	cocina pequena
raque	racket (fraudulent enterprise)	negocio fraudulento
realizar	to realize	comprender, darse cuenta
registrar	register	matricularse, inscribirse
relativo	relative (family)	pariente
relevancia	relevance	pertinencia, relacion
relevante	relevant	pertinente, apropiado, que viene al caso, a proposito
reversa	reverse (automobile gear)	retroceso, contramarcha marcha atras
rilif	relief (welfare)	socorro o asistencia publica
rufo	roof	azotez, techo
safacon	safety can (waste basket)	lata de basura
siro	syrup	jarabe, almibar
sobueyes	subways	trenes subterraneos
soportar	to support	sostener, mantener
suera	sweater	abrigo de punto, sueter, jersey
super	superintendent	encargado (esp. de un edificio de apts.)
tique	ticket	boleto, billete
tofe	tough (adjt)	fuerte, corajudo, de pelo en pecho, macho
tofete	tough (noun)	persona fuerte, musculosa bully, big-mouth
toquear	to talk	hablar, charlar
tracas	tracks	rieles
vacunear	to vacuum	pasar la aspiradora
yen	Gem, razor blade's trademark	hoja o cuchilla de afeitar

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
yarda	yard, backyard	patio
yobe	job	empleo, trabajo, tarea

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